THE MANIPULATIVE MODE

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POLITICAL PROPAGANDA IN ANTIQUITY
A COLLECTION OF CASE STUDIES

EDITED BY

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INTRODUCTION

We live in an age of propaganda. The ever increasing perfection of the means of communication as for technology, marketing and logistics has produced ever growing opportunities for governments and companies to manipulate, control and even shape our minds. The mass media are literally omnipresent and all-pervasive. In fact, it is hard to pass a single day without being exposed to their manipulative stream of information.[1] While other parameters that constitute personal identity are rapidly losing relevance, identity and identification created by the mass media become more and more decisive. Wars are lost and won on the battle-field of the television screen, where mondial sympathy for one's cause is at stake. Elections, too, are decided on television, and media awareness is a pivotal part of a politician's skill. Recent developments in several democratic countries have shown that spectacular changes in the political spectrum can be achieved by skilful manipulative campaigns. The techniques of manipulation have become more and more subtle and elaborate. Campaign leaders know that the success of a campaign is determined more by the way in which a certain message is presented than by its content. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same is true for marketing. The success of a certain product depends less on its quality than on a convincing commercial campaign. And these are but a few examples among many.

Against this background, it makes sense that in recent years the topic of propaganda received much attention in the hu-

[1] This is especially true, of course, for the Western world, but has in fact become a universal phenomenon. A.P. Foulkes (*Literature and Propaganda*, London and New York 1983, 1) remarks: "Remote communities in Africa and Latin America, although they may lack schools, medical facilities, drinking water and agricultural implements, need possess only a transistor radio in order to tune themselves in to the advertising jingles and political slogans which [...] desire to shape their social and economic reality [...]".

manities, not only in modern history, but also in classical studies. As for the latter, the ghost of anachronism is always near, for especially with a concept like propaganda it is all too tempting to apply our modern experiences to a period of the remote past. This has been done several times, mostly without making the peculiarities of either modern or antique propaganda explicit. On the other hand, scholars like Tonio Hölscher and Armin Eich insist that the transmission of political ideas in antiquity cannot be described in terms of propaganda.[2] Karl Galinsky, in his monumental *Augustan Culture*, takes a sceptical stand with respect to propaganda, but does not entirely deny the applicability of the concept.[3] Gregor Weber and Martin Zimmermann, who recently organised a conference on propaganda, self-fashioning and representation in the Early Roman Empire,[4] provide a revision of the definition of propaganda and a discussion of its applicability to Roman politics.[5] The editors of this book subscribe to many considerations and doubts expressed in Weber's and Zimmermann's paper.

Surely it will not do to simply without question project the modern concept of propaganda on political communication in antiquity. Three alleged characteristics of modern propaganda are especially problematic if one applies them to the situation in the ancient world. First and foremost, there is the widely held idea that modern propaganda is in principal centrally organised by the leaders of the state or other central institutions

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[2] T. Hölscher, 'Die Alten vor Augen. Politische Denkmäler und öffentliches Gedächtnis im republikanischen Rom', in: G. Melville (ed.), *Instutionalisierung und Symbolisierung. Verstetigung kultureller Ordnungsmuster in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Cologne 2001; idem, 'Augustus und die Macht der Archäologie', in: Giovannini, *La révolutione Romain aprés Ronald Syme*, 237-281; A. Eich, *Politische Literatur in der Römischen Gesellschaft. Studien zum Verhältnis von politischer und literarischer Öffentlichkeit in der späten Republik und in der frühen Kaiserzeit*, Cologne 2000.

[3] K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture. An Interpretive Introduction*, Princeton U.P., 1996 (paperback edition Princeton 1998); see especially his discussion on 39-41.

[4] 'Propaganda, Selbstdarstellung und Repräsentation', held at Tübingen, 2000.

[5] 'Propaganda, Selbstdarstellung und Repräsentation. Die Leitbegriffe des Kolloquiums in der Forschung zur Frühen Kaiserzeit', in: iidem (eds.), *Propaganda – Selbstdarstellung – Repräsentation im Römischen Kaiserreich des 1. Jhs. n. Chr.*, Wiesbaden and Stuttgart 2003.

(German scholars speak of "zentrale Lenkung"), often so systematically that one can speak of 'propaganda machines', and that the machinery functions on the basis of clear orders given to the actual producers of propaganda, such as text writers, speakers and artists. The second alleged characteristic of modern propaganda is closely related to the idea of the centrally organized propaganda machine, and consists in the implantation of information *by force*, for which Nazism and Soviet Communism figure as archetypical examples. A third aspect with far reaching consequences is that modern propaganda is, by definition, considered to address very large audiences, the mass. Implicitly or explicitly the modern mass media are regarded as crucial instruments for effective political manipulation. Their quantitative potential has deeply affected our ideas on propaganda. It has become difficult for us to imagine a kind of propaganda that is imparted through different channels and works in a different way.

Unfortunately, many scholars imported the modern concept of propaganda into classical studies without questioning these three problematic features. Sir Ronald Syme, in his very influential *The Roman Revolution*, written with the experience of Nazi Fascism, applied the idea of centrally organised propaganda ("zentrale Lenkung") to the reign of Augustus.[6] After Syme, many scholars departed from the implicit assumption that there were governmental propaganda machines in antiquity that shaped political opinion in a way similar to twentiest century propaganda. In the same implicit manner it was taken for granted that equivalents of the modern mass media existed in antiquity, and that they functioned in a similar way. Coins were identified as antiquity's mass medium *par excellence*. Many scholars believed that one of the most important functions of coins was to make political ideas acceptable to the people.[7] H. Voit, for instance, calls the reverse of a coin

[6] See especially Syme's chapter on 'The organisation of opinion'.

[7] Among many others, e.g., M. Kemkes, 'Politische Propaganda zur Zeit Traians im Spiegel der Münzen und historischen Reliefs', in: E. Schallmeyer (ed.), *Traian in Germanien – Trajan im Reich*, Bad Homburg 1999, 127-136; R. Göbl, *Die Münzprägung des Kaisers Aurelian*, Wien 1993; H. Voit, 'Geld und Politik, Propaganda auf römischen Münzen', in: *Geschichte lernen* 21, 1991, 44-49; G. Lahusen, *Die Bildnismünzen der römischen Republik*, Munich 1989; W.

'the side of propaganda', and says that since Augustus emperors prefer to use this instrument to impart political information to the people, because in an age without radio and television this was the only means available to communicate political programs to the remote provinces.[8] Others, including A.H.M. Jones, M.H. Crawford and R. Wolters, objected to this idea.[9] They considered it as decisive that in many cases it was not the emperor himself who invented the message or ordered the coinage, and that coins allow for clarification of political programmes only to a fairly limited degree. Wolters, moreover, has pointed out practical problems, such as the fact that coins reached the people with considerable delay, and he concluded that they were therefore not intended as means of propaganda.[10] Karl Galinsky, too, doubts that coins functioned as propagranda: "Coinage at best can reaffirm 'propaganda' though not create it. At most, coin types can serve as a reflection on, and as a record and affirmation of, something that is already known through other sources".[11] A similar discussion arose in archaeology. Paul Zanker made an important effort to understand Augustus' building and pictorial programmes as propaganda, as a means to legitimate and promulgate his polit-

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Trillmilch, *Familienpropaganda der Kaiser Caligula und Claudius. Agrippina Maior und Antonia Augusta auf Münzen*, Berlin 1978; A. Alföldi, 'The main aspects of Political Propaganda on the Coinage of the Roman Republic', in: R.A.G. Carson and C.H.V. Sutherland (edd.), *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to H. Mattingly,* Oxford 1956, 63-95.

[8] "Die Rückseite einer Münze ist die 'Propagandaseite'. Seit Augustus benutzten die Kaiser mit Vorliebe dieses Mittel, um Informationen *unters Volk* zu bringen. In einer Zeit ohne Fernsehen, Rundfunk und Zeitungen [...] war das *das einzige Mittel,* Regierungsprogramme [...] bis in die abgelegensten Provinzen zu verkünden," 'Geld und Politik, Propaganda auf römischen Münzen', 45 (emphasis added).

[9] A.H.M. Jones, Numismatics and History, in: Carson and C.H.V. Sutherland (edd.), *Essays in Roman Coinage*, 13-33; M.H. Crawford, 'Roman Imperial Coin Types and the Formation of Public Opinion', in: C.N.L. Brooke et al. (edd.), *Studies in Numismatic Methods*, Cambridge 1983, 47-64; R. Wolters, Nummi signati. *Untersuchungen zur Römischen Münzprägung und Geldwirtschaft*, Munich 1999. Cf. Karl Galinski's sceptical stand with respect to propaganda on coins in his *Augustan Culture,* 39-41.

[10] Cf. Weber and Zimmermann, *Propaganda, Selbstdarstellung und Repräsentation*, 24-28.

[11] *Augustan Culture,* 39.

ical ideas.[12] Zanker's views convinced many, but Tonio Hölscher[13] and others have questioned his ideas. One of the main arguments brought forward, e.g. by Hölscher and Bergmann, is that it must have been extremely difficult, in fact too difficult for ordinary spectators, to fully grasp the political message of pictorial programmes because of their encoded character and their 'iconographical blur.'[14]

Taking these objections into account, it does in fact seem questionable whether it makes sense at all to speak about propaganda in antiquity. Weber and Zimmermann are inclined to deny that. As, for them, propaganda is indissolubly connected with central organization and vertical direction, and apparently much less with social interaction or an upward movement,[15] they do not subscribe to the applicability of the notion to the politics of antiquity.[16] They formulate the following criteria for political communiaction to be described in terms of propaganda. First, it must be possible to discern with certainty the political message of a work of art or literature. Second, it must be possible to fully understand the intentions of the rulers. Third, it must be possible to provide a positive answer to the question whether the political messages were actually understood by the contemporary audience. Fourth, it must be pos-

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12 *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, Munich 1987.

13 'Augustus und die Macht der Archäologie', in: Giovannini, *La révolutione Romain après Ronald Syme*, 237-281. For the discussion with respect to archeology, cf. Weber and Zimmermann, 'Propaganda, Selbstdarstellung und Repräsentation', 28-30.

14 "Ikonographische Unschärfe", M. Bergmann, *Die Strahlen der Herrscher. Theomorphes Herrscherbild und politische Symbolik im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz 1981, 98.

15 Weber and Zimmermann follow Hölscher in this respect. For the results of the misleading identification of modern propaganda with central organisation and downward orientation, see for example Hölscher, 'Augustus und die Macht der Archäologie', 258: "Das alles ist weit entfernt von Praktiken und Strategien totalitärer Meinungslenkung in Neuzeit und Gegenwart. Der Begriff der 'Propaganda' trifft darum schlecht. Augustus hat im wesentlichen nicht auf Verordnungen, Meinungszwang und Gesinnungskontrolle gesetzt."

16 "Die Kaiser waren nämlich auf ganz unterschiedlichen Ebenen mit Erwartungen der Beherrschten konfrontiert, die es zu erfüllen galt [...] Der Kaiser musste demnach immer darauf bedacht sein, Zustimmung zu seinem Herrschaftsverständnis einzuholen oder in seinen Handlungen zu antizipieren," 'Propaganda, Selbstdarstellung und Repräsentation', 35.

sible to discern the effect of the propagandistic message.[17] Since, in their view, these criteria are not met, they state that propaganda was not useful for the rulers of antiquity and that they lacked motivation to propagate their political ideas.[18] Instead, they prefer the concept of representation, mirroring their view that emperors did not need propaganda in order to increase the acceptance of their politics, and that it was sufficient for them to 'represent' their power.

The crucial point, however, is that Weber and Zimmermann, as well as those they criticize, depart from the alleged characteristics of twentiest century propaganda and that their ideas about the concept of propaganda are shaped predominantly by Nazi Fascism and Stalinism. The present book takes its starting point from the conviction that this concept of propaganda is too limited, for antiquity as well as, for that matter, for our modern society. In order to arrive at a better understanding of political manipulation in antiquity, as well as, for that matter, in our present day, it is necessary to depart from a more balanced concept of propaganda, taking the three problematic features of the modern concept of propaganda into account.

In the first place, it is necessary to abandon the presupposition that propaganda is by definition based on a central organization and characterised by a downward movement and, consequently, the idea of propaganda consisting in the implantation of information by force. To understand its aims and effects, it is important to be aware of *interaction, integration, horizontal orientation* and *upward movement*. This is true for modern propaganda, too, even for the propaganda of dictatorial regimes. It is a telling detail that the archetypical exponent of vertical propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, the director of the *Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda*, had an outspoken preference of integrative and horizontal propa-

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[17] 'Propaganda, Selbstdarstellung und Repräsentation', 13. To this they add one other item on the 'Verbreitung' of the medium.

[18] Thus, in Weber's and Zimmermann's view, "war Propaganda also zur Durchsetzung der Herrscherideologie *nicht nötig*" ('Propaganda, Selbstdarstellung und Repräsentation', 35).

ganda,[19] of which he has given numerous examples in his own speeches. When he says, e.g., that "this time is *our* time. *We* give it all the strength of *our* hearts en of *our* minds, because it abolishes causes for conflict and thus brings true peace, because it provides a challenge for true talent,"[20] he tries to drive his point home by a maximum of identification with his audience. Who of his listeners would not have subscribed to the splendour of these common ideals? Who would not like to live in peace, to solve conflicts, to be modern, dynamic and cool? Who would not like to be regarded as a talented person and to prove his talent by challenge and response? It goes without saying that in modern Western democracies horizontal propaganda is at least of equal importance.

Interaction, integration, horizontal orientation and upward movement are especially relevant to propaganda in antiquity. The reason for this lies, not in the last place, in the parameters set by the various forms of political organisation. For Athenian democracy, for instance, "propaganda is horizontal or upward in movement, not downward. And though it inevitably involves a selective use, biased presentation or even invention of 'facts' about past and present, it is rarely based on control of information," as Carey states at the outset of his paper on 'Propaganda and Competition in Athenian Oratory', in this volume.[21] Similar considerations are relevant to the Roman Empire with its extremely complex and, in fact, double edged political outlook. On the one hand, the Roman Empire is organized as a monarchy; on the other, republican structures are maintained and even emphasised. This means that blunt downward propaganda and absolute control of a propaganda machine (let alone the implantation of political information *by force*), would have been utterly counter-effective. Almost all

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[19] The notions of horizontal and vertical propaganda were coined by Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* (trsl. by K. Kellen and J. Lerner), New York 1973. For Goebbels' views cf. M. Balfour, *Propaganda in War 1939-1945*, London 1979.

[20] "Diese Zeit ist *unsere* Zeit. *Wir* leihen ihr alle Kräfte *unseres* Herzens und *unseres* Verstandes, weil sie Konfliktstoffe beseitigt und damit den wahren Frieden bringt, weil sie ein Bewährungsfeld für echte Talente [...] darstellt," *Gesammelte Reden und Aufsätze*, 75 (emphasis added).

[21] See below.

successful emperors were fully aware of this situation and acted accordingly. The real power of propaganda, as Foulkes aptly puts it, "lies in its capacity to appear natural, to coalesce completely and invisibly with the values and accepted power symbols."[22] This is of special relevance to the Roman Empire. Karl Galinsky is entirely right when he says that it was of pivotal importance for imperial propaganda *to conceal itself.*[23]

This sheds a different light on the four criteria for propaganda formulated by Weber and Zimmermann and the complaints of others that, because of 'iconographical blur' or other disturbing interference, it is sometimes difficult to determine the precise message that is propagated. Apart from the fact that it is exactly our job to decipher difficult messages from the distant past and that the difficulty in deciphering this message is more a problem of historical research in general than of propaganda in particular, the alleged vagueness and inconspicuousness of the propagated message may very well be the result of a successful attempt on the part of the ruler to conceal his manipulative message in order to make it appear natural and to make it coalesce completely and invisibly with the values and accepted power symbols.

With respect to the third problematic characteristic of modern propaganda identified above, too, a more balanced view is needed. Mass media are not an absolute condition for propaganda to reach its goals. Propaganda does not by definition address the masses. This is true for the dictatorial propaganda of Nazi Fascism and Stalinism, where mass rallies, parades, films, pamphlets, posters, news papers, novels, poems, and speeches held at the parade ground, for party members, in parliament, or at an official state banquet, all address partly overlapping audiences of different sizes. This is especially true for propaganda in antiquity, which often does not address the masses, but much smaller audiences. This is, of course, partly due to the limitations of the media, but it is not simply caused by it. Addressing a smaller audience was often a matter of conscious choice. The ruler had always to bear in mind who

[22] *Literature and Propaganda*, 3.
[23] *Augustan Culture*, 40.

was to be persuaded of his programme and ideas. The choice of the specific medium was tuned to the intended audience. Since it was of crucial importance for rulers in antiquity to persuade the elite, the media chosen to propagate the political message were often media to which mainly the elite had access. Against this background, it can be understood why *literature* played an important role for propagating political ideas in antiquity. Literature was the privileged means of communication of the elite. Therefore, this book puts emphasis on the investigation of political manipulation in literature in various genres and contexts.

The editors and contributors of this volume are fully aware of the complexity of the notion of propaganda, or, as one of our authors puts it, of the fact that to "define propaganda is a bit like trying to catch a greased pig: slippery." Given the complexity of propaganda, the consideration of details is of vital importance. "Instead of sweeping general statements," as Karl Galinsky rightly remarked, "we need to proceed on a case-by-case basis."[24] This book offers a number of case studies, investigating into the strategies, contexts and various parameters of specific examples of ancient propaganda. The dominant focus on the Roman Empire has eclipsed the fact that propaganda is by no means a Roman privilege. In order to counter-balance this all but exclusive attention for the Roman Empire, this book offers a much more generous treatment of political manipulation in ancient Greek culture than is usual in studies on propaganda in antiquity, ranging from archaic Sicily to the Hellenistic kingdoms. Since the Roman Empire remains of central importance for the topic, the other half of the book deals with various examples of polical propaganda in imperial Roman literature and architecture.

Ilja Leonard Pfeijffer's essay on Pindar's first *Pythian* ode, commemorating a victory won in the chariot race by the great tyrant Hieron of Syracuse (470 BC), demonstrates that Hieron seized the opportunity of the public celebration of his victory in Aetna to commission an ode designed to support his political agenda and that the ode as a whole, including its much ad-

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[24] *Augustan Culture*, 40.

mired proem, legitimates his position and propagates recognition of his status as the king of kings and the saviour of Greece.

Where Pfeijffer investigates into the specifics of propaganda in the context of archaic tyranny in Sicily, Simon Slings focusses on contemporary Athens, where democracy had just been established. His essay offers a detailed investigation into the problems concerned with the early fifth century choral agon, especially its chronology, and Slings demonstrates that the new democratic leaders of Athens made use of the institution of the choral agon in order to propagate the political structures after the Clisthenic reforms by visualizing tribal bonds. To our great grief, Simon Slings has not lived to witness the publication of this book. The editors remember him with admiration, affection and gratitude and hope that the book in which his essay is included does some justice to his exemplary scholarship.

The third essay focusses on the hey-days of Athenian democracy. Christopher Carey investigates into the specifics of the propaganda of Athenian oratory, characterised by its upward and horizontal movement. He discusses some of its hot topics, rhetorical situations and argumentations in their historical context. For Carey, it is of pivotal importance for the functioning of propaganda that "the individual output fits into a larger process, that is when themes and images are developed consistently or a message is promulgated on multiple occasions and/or by a plurality of persons."

The fourth essay takes us into the Hellenistic era. Rolf Strootman focuses on the specific way in which the Celts were used in the propaganda of the Hellenistic kingdoms. The propagandistic concept of the "deliverance from barbarians" enabled the kings, e.g., Ptolemy Keraunos, Antigonos Gonatas and Attalos of Pergamon, to legitimate their royal power by presenting themselves as saviours (Soteres) and benefactors (Euergeteis).

The first essay on propaganda in Rome focusses on the pre-Augustan era. Stephan Busch deals with the propagandistic mechanisms of Caesar's *Commentarii de bello Gallico,* closely analyzing its narrative structure. Focusing on the specifics of

the narrator, who presents the events in a homodiegetic position, Busch argues that the mainstream interpretation of the Caesar philology cannot be correct. In Busch's view, Caesar addressed his *Commentarii de bello Gallico* predominantly to a much smaller audience than is generally believed.

Karl Enenkel undertakes a close analysis of Jupiter's first speech in Vergil's *Aeneid*, which is of special importance in the discussions on the political tendency of the work. In recent years the Roman prophecies of the *Aeneid* have been much debated, and we are far from consensus. Examining the manifold detail questions regarding this speech Enenkel puts together the mosaic stones of the various strains of arguments into a new overall interpretation. For his interpretation he aims at reconstructing the expectations of Vergil's audience, with regard to epic intertextuality, rhetorical composition and historical context. Enenkel demonstrates that Jupiter's speech is closely related to the propaganda events and festivals that took place in Rome in the summer of 29 BC.

Paul Meyboom, too, discusses Augustan propaganda. He investigates into an aspect of Augustus' building policy that scholarship has at large neglected: Augustus' house on the Palatine. Meyboom shows how a seemingly innocent initiative like building a 'private' house can contribute to the propagandistic legitimisation of a regime. In doing so, Meyboom aims at understanding the ideological aspects of the house of Augustus in the larger context of his propagandistic building programme on the Palatine, including the Casa Romuli, the temple of Magna Mater, the temple of Victoria, the temple of Apollo and the temple of Vesta.

In his second contribution, Karl Enenkel draws attention to a less known aspect of the gladiatorial shows: the shows as a means of propagandistic transmission of values. He demonstrates in which way Roman writers from Cicero to Pliny the Younger have presented the gladiator as a moral example to the leading class, against the background of changes in the system of values that took place in those two centuries.

Susanna de Beer gives a thorough analysis of the rhetorical *inventio* of the fifth *Latin Panegyric*, addressed to Constantine the Great and held on the festival of his *Quinquennalia* (311

AD). She offers a new interpretation of the speech by comparing it to its predecessor, the puzzling sixth *Panegyric.* As it is the case with the sixth, the fifth *Panegyric* should not be understood as a product of the 'official', viz. vertical imperial propaganda, but as a specimen of the 'upward movement.' De Beer shows that the *inventio* of the speech, in fact, is tuned more to the ideological wishes of the Emperor than to the requirements of vertical imperial self-presentation.

PROPAGANDA IN PINDAR'S FIRST *PYTHIAN* ODE

Ilja Leonard Pfeijffer

Pindar's first *Pythian*, by the ancient editors found worthy of forming the proud incipit of the second scroll of the collection of his epinicia, is one of his most widely read and admired odes. Yet, it is mainly read and admired for one specific reason: its majestic proem about the power of Olympian music. It is, to the best of my knowledge, the only Pindaric proem that has been granted the exceptional honour of having been commented upon separately in a book.[1] It is easy to understand why people like this proem. It lends itself for being read as a self-contained piece of highly sophisticated poetry on an appealing theme and, thus read, it is pleasantly void of all the elements of a Pindaric ode that many readers tend to accept only reluctantly, such as the praise of athletes and the propagation of their aristocratic values. Then it is almost the kind of timeless, eternal poetry we came to like since Romanticism.

Unfortunately, the almost universal admiration for the proem of the first *Pythian* runs the risk of eclipsing the obvious fact that it is just that: a proem, designed to be an integral part of the ode as a whole. However, the question as to the function of the proem in connection with the ode as a whole has never been satisfactorily answered.[2] I shall demonstrate that, as is *a priori* very likely, the proem has close relevance to the ode as a whole and that it contributes to the primary aim of the ode as a whole, which is to praise Hieron of Syracuse and commemorating his victory in the chariot race at the

[1] O. Kollmann, *Das Prooimion der ersten Pythischen Ode Pindars. Ein sprachlich-poetischer Kommentar*, Wien and Berlin 1989.

[2] A select bibliography is given at the end of this contribution.

Pythian Games of 470 BC.[3] Moreover, I shall demonstrate that Hieron seized the opportunity of the public celebration of his victory in Aetna to commission an ode[4] designed to support his political agenda and that the ode as a whole, including the proem, legitimates his position and propagates recognition of his status as the king of kings and the saviour of Greece.

The Proem
(1-28)

Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων
σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον· τᾶς ἀκούει
  μὲν βάσις ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά,
πείθονται δ' ἀοιδοὶ σάμασιν
ἁγησιχόρων ὁπόταν προοιμίων
  ἀμβολὰς τεύχῃς ἐλελιζομένα.
καὶ τὸν αἰχματὰν κεραυνὸν σβεννύεις
αἰενάου πυρός. εὕδει δ' ἀνὰ σκά-
  πτῳ Διὸς αἰετός, ὠκεῖ-
  αν πτέρυγ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν χαλάξαις,

ἀρχὸς οἰωνῶν, κελαινῶπιν δ' ἐπί οἱ νεφέλαν
ἀγκύλῳ κρατί, γλεφάρων ἁδὺ κλάϊ-
  θρον,[5] κατέχευας· ὁ δὲ κνώσσων
ὑγρὸν νῶτον αἰωρεῖ, τεαῖς
ῥιπαῖσι κατασχόμενος. καὶ γὰρ βια-
  τὰς Ἄρης, τραχεῖαν ἄνευθε λιπὼν
ἐγχέων ἀκμάν, ἰαίνει καρδίαν
κώματι, κῆλα δὲ καὶ δαιμόνων θέλ-
  γει[6] φρένας ἀμφί τε Λατοί-
  δα σοφίᾳ βαθυκόλπων τε Μοισᾶν.

ὅσσα δὲ μὴ πεφίληκε Ζεύς, ἀτύζονται βοάν
Πιερίδων ἀΐοντα, γᾶν τε καὶ πόν-

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[3] The date is now undisputed. For details see Cingano in: Gentili *et al.*, *Pitiche*, 9 n. 1 with references.

[4] Hieron also commisioned an *epinicion* (Ode 4) and an *encomion* (*fr.*20c) of Bacchylides for the celebration of the same victory. Cingano (in Gentili *et al.*, *Pitiche*, 9) believes that the brief *epinicion* was performed at Delphi and the *encomion* at a more private occasion in Aetna after the public ceremony of which Pindar's ode was a part.

[5] The mss. have κλάϊστρον. The correction is by Wackernagel.

[6] Krause conjectured θέλγεις.

τον κατ' ἀμαιμάκετον,
ὅϲ τ' ἐν αἰνᾶι Ταρτάρωι κεῖται, θεῶν πολέμιοϲ,
Τυφὼϲ ἑκατοντακάρανοϲ· τόν ποτε
Κιλίκιον θρέψεν πολυώνυμον ἄντρον· νῦν γε μάν
ταί θ' ὑπὲρ Κύμαϲ ἁλιερκέεϲ ὄχθαι
Σικελία τ' αὐτοῦ πιέζει
στέρνα λαχνάεντα· κίων δ' οὐρανία ϲυνέχει,
νιφόεϲϲ' Αἴτνα, πάνετεϲ[7] χιόνοϲ ὀξείαϲ τιθήνα·

τᾶϲ ἐρεύγονται μὲν ἀπλάτου πυρὸϲ ἁγνόταται
ἐκ μυχῶν παγαί· ποταμοὶ δ' ἁμέραιϲιν
μὲν προχέοντι ῥόον καπνοῦ
αἴθων'· ἀλλ' ἐν ὄρφναιϲιν πέτραϲ
φοίνιϲϲα κυλινδομένα φλὸξ ἐϲ βαθεῖ-
αν φέρει πόντου πλάκα ϲὺν πατάγωι.
κεῖνο δ' Ἁφαίϲτοιο κρουνοὺϲ ἑρπετόν
δεινοτάτουϲ ἀναπέμπει· τέραϲ μὲν
θαυμάϲιον προϲιδέϲθαι,
θαῦμα δὲ καὶ παρεόντων[8] ἀκοῦϲαι,

οἷον Αἴτναϲ ἐν μελαμφύλλοιϲ δέδεται κορυφαῖϲ
καὶ πέδωι, ϲτρωμνὰ δὲ χαράϲϲοιϲ' ἅπαν νῶ-
τον ποτικεκλιμένον κεντεῖ.

Golden Lyre, rightful possession of Apollo and the violet-haired Muses, to you the footstep listens as it begins the splendid celebration, and the singers heed for your signals, whenever with your vibrations you strike up the chorus-leading preludes. [5] You quench even the warring thunderbolt of ever flowing fire; and the eagle sleeps on the scepter of Zeus, having relaxed his swift wings on either side, [antistr. 1] the king of birds, for you have poured over its curved head a black-hooded cloud, sweet seal for his eyelids. And as he slumbers, he ripples his supple back, [10] held in check by your volley of notes. For even violent Ares puts aside his sharp-pointed spears and delights his heart in sleep; and your shafts enchant the minds of the deities as well, through the skill of Leto's son and of the deep-breasted Muses.

[epode 1] But those creatures for whom Zeus has no love are terrified when they hear the song of the Pierians, those on land and in the overpowering sea, [15] and the one who lies in dread Tartarus, enemy of the gods, Thyphos the hundred-headed, whom the famous Cilician cave once reared;

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[7] πανέτηϲ Christ.
[8] παριόντων *varia lectio.*

> now, however, the sea-fencing cliffs above Cymae as well as Sicily weigh upon his shaggy chest, and a skyward column constrains him, [20] snowy Aetna, nurse of biting snow all year round, [strophe 2] from whose depths belch forth holiest springs of unapproachable fire; during the days rivers of lava pour forth a blazing stream of smoke, but in times of darkness a rolling red flame carries rocks into the deep expanse of the sea with a crash. [25] That monster sends up most terrible springs of Hephaestus' fire — a portent wondrous to behold, a wonder even to hear of from those present — [antistr. 2] such a one is confined within Aetna's dark and leafy peaks and the plain; and a jagged bed goads the entire length of his back that lies against it.[9]

As many odes, *Pythian* 1 begins with an invocation. But, although the fame of this opening may have dulled our ears to the effect, the invocation of an inanimate artifact constitutes a surprise. An audience, familiar with the genre, gathered in Aetna to witness the celebration of Hieron's victory, would anticipate the invocation of a deity, e.g. a god who has a special relation to the victor, his home town, or the venue of the games where the victory was won, or deities who have a special relation to the poet's profession, such as the Muses of the Graces. The invocation of a divine musical instrument is contrary to their expectations and captures their attention from the outset.

According to the pattern that is usual with the invocation of deities, the divine lyre is provided with a series of qualifications illustrating its power.[10] It leads the steps of the dancers (2)[11] and the singers follow its signals (3-4). What Pindar describes, is happening before the audience's eyes.[12] By thematising choral performance as such, Pindar suggests a parallel between the current performance of his ode for Hieron and the

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[9] Translation, here and below, adapted from W.C. Race, *Pindar, Olympian Odes, Pythian Odes* (*LCL* 56), Cambridge (Ma.) and London 1997, 212-227.

[10] Cf. Burton, *Pythian Odes*, 92; Cingano in: Gentili *et al., Pitiche*, 12.

[11] Cf. Ar. *Thesm.*968ff.

[12] "The lyre of the opening verses, the symbol of music and of what music stands for in this ode, was visible and audible throughout as the unifying instrument," Burton, *Pythian Odes*, 91.

divine performance by Apollo and the Muses he describes.[13] Then the poet proceeds by further illustrating its power by describing its enchanting effect upon all on Mt. Olympus listening to it: it quenches the fire of the thunderbolt (5-6) and lulls the eagle on Zeus' scepter to sleep (6-10). It is important to notice that both the thunderbolt and the scepter are emblems of Zeus' power, which is evidently thematized here. All gods are enchanted by the song, among whom Ares is emphatically mentioned (10-12).

The ode is now twelve lines on its way, while we have heard nothing yet about its immediate cause. Postponement of the obligated victory data is a means of generating suspense.[14] Moreover, the second mentioning of Apollo and the Muses at the end of the first antistrophe, echoing the opening lines, raises the expectation that, in accordance with the familiar strategy of ring composition, the proem has come to a close and that a transition will be made to the occasion.[15] However, Pindar again plays with the expectations of his audience's by prolonging his proemial description of the effects of the divine music for sixteen more lines while making a completely different shift. The mood changes dramatically.[16] Pindar describes the effect of the music on terrible creatures not dear to Zeus and enemies of the gods, such as Typhos. They are not peacefully lulled to sleep by the harmonious music, they are terrified by it (13-16). The reference to Typhos is elaborated. The story that he lies burried under Sicily and utters his discontent in the form of eruptions of Mt. Etna, is given ample space (16-28).[17] The attention for Typhos and the volcanic activity of

[13] See Carey, 'The Victory Ode in Performance', 199-200; Cingano in: Gentili *et al., Pitiche,* 12 and 20 n. 1.

[14] For postponement of obligated victory data as a means of generating suspense, see my *Three Odes,* 42-43, with further references.

[15] Cf. Cingano in: Gentili *et al., Pitiche,* 13.

[16] For variations of mood, see my *Three Odes,* 45-47, with further references.

[17] Scholars have noticed the close similarities with A.*Pr.*351-372. The numerous thematic and lexical analogies between the two texts are explained either as both poets drawing from a common source now lost to us (thus, e.g., Burton, *Pythian Odes,* 98-99), or as Aeschylus borrowing from Pindar. The issue is not relevant to my present aims. For more detail, see

Mt. Etna is, of course, partly motivated by local interest. The audience gathered in Aetna (now Catania) at the foot of the volcano see the evidence of Thyphos' presence before their eyes, as a majestic piece of scenery.[18] But there is more. That the monster sends up terrible springs of fire, is called a 'portent' (τέρας, 26). A portent of what? Everybody in the audience will remember how he got there. He was the last and most formidable in a long row of creatures who rebelled against the Olympian gods and challanged Zeus' reign.[19] This makes him a textbook case of someone guilty of *hybris*.[20] It was Zeus himself who punished him for his *hybris* and confined him under the weight of Sicily. The subterreneal presence of Typhos is a portent of Zeus' power, which is great and just and executes a policy of zero tolerance with respect to *hybris*.

Bowra, *Pindar*, 377, and M. Griffith, *Aeschylus. Prometheus Bound*, Cambridge 1983, 149ff., with further references.

[18] Sources indicate that Mt. Etna erupted not long before the performance of this ode, either in 479/8 (*Marmor Parium, FGrHist* 239 A 52) or in 476/5 (Th.3.116).

[19] Our sources for the Typhos myth (the most important ones include further: Hes.*Th.*820-868, *Il.*2.781-785, *O.*4.8-9, *fr.*93, A.*Pr.*351-361, Apollod.1.6.3) are fairly numerous and consistent. Typhos is the son of Gaea and Tartarus (Hes. *Th.*821-822; cf. γηγενῆ, A.*Pr.*253). The association with Cilicia (16-17) is common (cf., e.g., A.*Pr.*353; εἰν 'Αρίμοις, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφωέος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς, *Il.*2.783, cf. *fr.*93). One of the most eye-catching details of his repulsive physique (described at length in Hes.*Th.*820-868) is that he had one hundred heads (line 16, cf. *fr.*93; ἐκ δέ οἱ μων | ἦν ἑκατὸν κεφαλαὶ ὄφιος, Hes.*Th.*824-825; ἑκατογκάρανον, A.*Pr.*355; ἑκατογκεφάλα, *O.*4.9). Typhos' ambition — like that of Giants — was to overthrow the dominion of the Olympians (cf. πᾶσι ἀνέστη θεοῖς, A.*Pr.*354; ὡς τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδ' ἐκπέρσων βίαι, *ibid.*357, Prometheus speaking). Zeus killed him with his thunder-bolt (ἀλλ' οἶος ἄπλατον κεράϊζες θεῶν | Τυφῶν' [...], Ζεῦ πάτερ, *fr.*93; ἀλλ' ἦλθεν αὐτῶι Ζηνὸς ἄγρυπνον βέλος | καταιβάτης κεραυνὸς ἐκπνέων φλόγα, | ὃς αὐτὸν ἐξέπληξε, A.*Pr.*357-360; *Il.*2.781-785; Hes.*Th.*853-868 tells the story in detail). He was locked up either in the Tartarus (Hes. *Th.*868), or underneath the Etna (*lines* 15-28, *O.*4.8-9, *fr.*93, A.*Pr.*365-372). See further, in addition to the mythological hand-books, G. Seippel, *Der Typhonmythos*, diss. Greifswald 1939; Cingano on *P.*1.16-28 (in: Gentili *et al., Pitiche*, 334/5); C. Bonnet, 'Typhon et Baal Saphon', in: *Studia Phoenicia V. Phoenicia and the East Mediterraneum in the First Millennium B.C.*, Leuven 1987, 101-143.

[20] Thus also Burton, *Pythian Odes*, 97. Typhos is mentioned as a symbol of *hybris*, together with the Giants, in *P.*8.8-12.

Both sections of the proem dwell on Zeus' power. It has two contrasting sides. The fire of the thunderbolt is quenched and the eagle lulled to sleep when everything is harmonious and peaceful, but when Zeus is confronted with those who break his rules and challange his supremacy, he shows the devastating strength of his power. The main question remains, of course, how all this is relevant to Hieron who has just won a victory in the chariot race. I shall come back to this.

Dedication to Zeus
(29-33)

εἴη, Ζεῦ, τὶν εἴη ἁνδάνειν,
ὃϲ τοῦτ' ἐφέπειϲ ὄροϲ, εὐκάρποιο γαί-
αϲ μέτωπον, τοῦ μὲν ἐπωνυμίαν
κλεινὸϲ οἰκιϲτὴρ ἐκύδανεν πόλιν
γείτονα, Πυθιάδοϲ δ' ἐν δρόμωι κά-
ρυξ ἀνέειπέ νιν ἀγγέλ-
λων Ἱέρωνοϲ ὑπὲρ καλλινίκου

ἅρμαϲι.

Grant, O Zeus, grant that I may please you, [30] you who rule that mountain, the brow of a fruitful land, whose neighbouring city that bears its name was honoured by its illustrious founder, when at the racecourse of the Pythian festival the herald proclaimed it in announcing Hieron's splendid victory [epode 2] with the chariot.

After these implicit references to Zeus' power, it comes as no surprise that he is invoked. He is being called upon as the patron deity of the city of Aetna,[21] the location of the victory celebrations. He is entreated to find delight the fact that Hieron contributed to the fame of this city by having its name

[21] The coin struck in order to commemorate the foundation of Aetna, presumably under orders of Hieron, displays Zeus' power in a way that is similar to what Pindar describes in the proem of this ode. It shows Zeus seated upon a throne with his thunderbolt in his left hand, and in from of him a pine-tree from Mt Etna (cf. line 27) with an eagle perched on top. See Seltman, *Masterpieces of Greek Coinage*, Oxford 1948, 56ff.; Burton, *Pythian Odes*, 95-96.

pronounced by the herald when announcing his victory.[22] The victory is presented as a great honour to the city as a whole. At last we get the obligated victory data that we had been waiting for for more than thirty lines. Moreover, we hear in passing about the fact that Hieron founded the city of Aetna. External sources confirm this. In 476/5, five or six years before he won his victory, Hieron refounded Catane as Aetna.[23] The juxtaposition of Zeus, presented as the patron deity of the young city, and Hieron, presented as its founder and benefactor, implicitly suggests an association between Hieron and Zeus.

Gnomic Passage
(33-38)

ναυϲιφορήτοιϲ δ' ἀνδράϲι πρῶτα χάριϲ
ἐϲ πλόον ἀρχομένοιϲ[24] πομπαῖον ἐλθεῖν
οὖρον· ἐοικότα γάρ
καὶ τελευτᾶι φερτέρου νόϲτου τυχεῖν, ὁ δὲ λόγοϲ
ταύταιϲ ἐπὶ ϲυντυχίαιϲ δόξαν φέρει
λοιπὸν ἔϲϲεϲθαι ϲτεφάνοιϲί ν⟨ιν⟩[25] ἵπποιϲ τε κλυτάν
καὶ ϲὺν εὐφώνοιϲ θαλίαιϲ ὀνυμαϲτάν.

For seafaring men the first blessing as they set out on a voyage is the coming of a favourable wind, since it is likely [35] that they will attain a more succesful return in the end as well. And this saying, given the present success, inspires the expectation that hereafter the city will be renowned for crowns and horses and its name honoured amid tuneful festivities.

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[22] The herald at the Games proclaims the name of the victor, together with his father's name and the name of his city (which is thematized in passages like *O.*5.8-9, *I.*3.11-13, *O.*8.20). Thus the victor makes his city 'known' by means of his victory (*P.*9.73-75). The victor's crowns contribute to the fame of his city (*O.*9.19-20, *O.*4.11-12), for he makes it the object of praise (*N.*3.68), and 'enlarges' it (*O.*5.3-4), providing τιμά for it (*I.*1.64-67). He 'brings his city to light' (*O.*5.14), and 'mingles it with flourishing fortune' (*P.*9.71-72).

[23] See Cingano in: Gentili *et al.*, *Pitiche*, 11 with n. 4, for references.

[24] ἐρχομένοιϲ *varia lectio.*

[25] Suppl. Heyne.

The relevance of the gnomic statement, that for seamen a favourable wind at the beginning of their voyage gives good hope for a succesful return, is, contrary to Pindar's usual practice,[26] made explicit: it can be hoped to be applicable to the young city of Aetna, which now, at the beginning of its voyage through history, has found a favourable wind in Hieron's victory. Again, Hieron is presented as a benefactor of Aetna and his victory as a favourable omen for its future glory.

Prayer to Apollo
(39-42)

Λύκιε καὶ Δάλοι' ἀνάϲϲων
   Φοῖβε Παρναϲϲοῦ τε κράναν Καϲταλίαν φιλέων,
ἐθελήϲαιϲ ταῦτα νόωι τιθέμεν εὔανδρόν τε χώραν.

ἐκ θεῶν γὰρ μαχαναὶ πᾶϲαι βροτέαιϲ ἀρεταῖϲ,
καὶ ϲοφοὶ καὶ χερϲὶ βιαταὶ περίγλωϲ-
   ϲοί τ' ἔφυν.

> Lord of Lycia, O Phoebus, you who rule over Delus and who love Parnassus' Castalian spring, [40] willingly take those things to heart and make this a land of brave men. [strophe 3] For from the gods come all means for human achievements, and from the gods men are wise, strong of hand and eloquent.

After Zeus, a second god is invoked: Apollo, the patron deity of the Pythian Games where Hieron's victory was won. He is entreated to grant that this favourable omen may indeed be fulfilled and to make Aetna a city 'of brave men.' The prayer is motivated in following lines with the gnomic statement that the gods provide all means to man to distinguish himself and that they provide all capacities and skills enabling him to accomplish his goals (41-42).[27] This gnomic assertion works as a

[26] For Pindar's implicitness, see my *Three Odes*, 23-34.

[27] For the sentiment, cf. e.g. *P.*8.73-76, where Pindar says that 'if someone has gained success without long labour, he seems to many to be a wise man among fools and to arm his life with effective good planning. But those things do not rest with men; a god grants them.' Cf. also *O.*11.10, *O.*9.28-29.

motivation of the preceeding prayer, as it illustrates why it is necessary to ask for divine assistance in these matters, but it functions on a different level too. When Pindar says that human successes come from the gods, the audience will think of one particular example of human success, i.e. the success that is the reason why they are gathered in Aetna to listen to this ode and the success that has been explicitly referred to a few lines ago. Thus the gnomic motivation of the prayer implies that Hieron owes his success to the gods, which is a great compliment to him, suggesting that he has the gods on his side.[28]

When this suggestion is connected with the proem, the compliment becomes even bigger. For there divine favouring was given a moral dimension. Thyphos was guilty of *hybris*, morally reprehensible conduct, and has been punished for that by the gods. Here we have someone who is rewarded by the gods. The suggestion is that Hieron has deserved his divine favouring, of which his victory is solid proof, by means of his good morals and just conduct. Thus Hieron is implicitly characterized as a good king, as someone who has the gods on his side because of his just, fair and righteous reign. This implication functions as a legitimization of his power: such a person must be king, for the gods themselves give signs of their approval of his position.

Hieron and Philoctetes
(42-57)

ἄνδρα δ' ἐγὼ κεῖνον
αἰνῆϲαι μενοινῶν ἔλπομαι
μὴ χαλκοπάραον ἄκονθ' ὡϲείτ' ἀγῶ-
νοϲ βαλεῖν ἔξω παλάμαι δονέων,
μακρὰ δὲ ῥίψαιϲ ἀμεύϲαϲθ' ἀντίουϲ.
εἰ γὰρ ὁ πᾶϲ χρόνοϲ ὄλβον μὲν οὕτω
καὶ κτεάνων δόϲιν εὐθύ—
νοι, καμάτων δ' ἐπίλαϲιν παράϲχοι·

[28] Bacchylides' *encomion*, composed to commemorate the same victory (*fr.*20c), seems to have made the same point (lines 19-24).

ἦ κεν ἀμνάcειεν, οἵαιc ἐν πολέμοιcι μάχαιc
τλάμονι ψυχᾶι παρέμειν', ἀνίχ' εὑρί-
cκοντο θεῶν παλάμαιc τιμάν
οἵαν οὔτιc Ἑλλάνων δρέπει
πλούτου cτεφάνωμ' ἀγέρωχον. νῦν γε μὰν
τὰν Φιλοκτήταο δίκαν ἐφέπων
ἐcτρατεύθη· cὺν δ' ἀνάγκαι νιν φίλον
καί τιc ἐὼν μεγαλάνωρ ἔcανεν.
φαντὶ δὲ Λαμνόθεν ἕλκει
τειρόμενον μεταβάcονταc[29] ἐλθεῖν

ἥροαc ἀντιθέουc Ποίαντοc υἱὸν τοξόταν·
ὃc Πριάμοιο πόλιν πέρcεν, τελεύτα-
cέν τε πόνουc Δαναοῖc,
ἀcθενεῖ μὲν χρωτὶ βαίνων, ἀλλὰ μοιρίδιον ἦν.
οὕτω δ' Ἱέρωνι θεὸc ὀρθωτὴρ πέλοι
τὸν προcέρποντα χρόνον, ὧν ἔραται και-
ρὸν διδούc.

In my eagerness to praise that man, I hope I may not, as it were, throw outside the lists the bronze-cheeked-javelin I brandish in my hand, [45] but cast it far and surpass my competitors.

May all time to come keep on course, as heretofore, his happiness and the gift of the riches, and provide him with forgetfulness of his hardships: [antistr. 3] surely time would remind him in what battles in the course of wars he stood his ground with steadfast soul, when with divine help they found such honour as no other Hellene enjoys [50] as a crown for his wealth. Just now, indeed, after the fashion of Philoctetes, he has gone on campaign, and even one who was proud found it necessary to fawn upon him as a friend. They tell that the godlike heroes came to fetch him from Lemnus, wasting from his wound, [epode 3] Poeas' archer son, who destroyed Priam's city and ended the Danaans' toils; [55] he walked with flesh infirm, but it was the work of destiny. In like fashion may the god uphold Hieron in the time that comes, and give him due measure of his desires.

With the emphatic first person in line 42, the ode shifts from implicit to explicit praise of Hieron. Pindar thematizes his en-

[29] Anonymous conjecture mentioned by Boeckh. The mss. have μεταλ(λ)άc(c)ονταc.

comistic role with a much disputed athletic metaphor,[30] which, whatever its precise implications are, expresses the poet's concern for due measure in the fulfilment of his encomiastic duties and his awareness of the risk that his enthusiasm for praising Hieron may inspire him to go too far so that his praise becomes counter-productive. This is, of course, one of the oldest tricks in the book. The poet suggests that the reasons to praise Hieron are so numerous and his material so plenty that he runs the risk of overwhelming his audience and he suggests also that everything we shall hear about Hieron will be but the tip of the iceberg.[31]

All this sounds as an announcement. But again the poet plays with his audience's expectations. For instead of direct praise of Hieron, we get a wish.[32] 'May the future keep on course, as heretofore, his happiness and the gift of riches' (46). But, of course, this wish is praise in disguise, for the poet implies that his prosperity and riches are so great that they cannot be surpassed and one can only hope that they stay as they are. Then a second wish is added. The poet hopes that Hieron may find forgetfulness of his hardships (46). Which hardships? It is true that Pindar elsewhere often refers to the hardships of athletic training and competition and that the wish for the victory to provide forgetfulness of these hardships is a *topos* of the genre. However, it is very surprising to find reference to this in an ode for a chariot race victory. Nouns like πόνοc, μόχθοc and κάματοc (used here) refer specifically to the hardships of combat sports in the vast majority of cases.[33] Victors in the hippic disciplines did not even partake in the race in person. They are merely the owners of the horses. Thus a victory in the chariot race is called an 'atoning for expenditure' rather

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[30] The main problem is the exact meaning of the phrase ἔξω ἀγῶνοc βαλεῖν. See Ellsworth, 'Pindar's Pythian 1.44', 293-296, with further references.

[31] For similar passages where the poet asserts that there is too much to tell, cf. e.g. *O.*2.83ff., *P.*8.29-34, *I.*6.56, etc. For reference to the danger of 'tedium', resulting from overwhelming the audience, cf. e.g. *O.*2.95-98, *N.*7.52, *N.*10.20, *P.*7.19 and lines 81-84 below.

[32] For εἰ γάρ with the optative introducing a wish, cf. e.g. *N.*7.98.

[33] *N.*5.48-49. *N.*3.17-18, *O.*8.5-7, *N.*7.14-16, *N.*10.24, *I.*8.1-8, *N.*7.74, *O.*10.93, *I.*5.57.

than a 'compensation for toil'.[34] The hardships cannot refer to athletic labour.[35] The second possibility is to refer them to the toils of war.[36] However, this seems exactly to be denied in the following lines: time will remind Hieron of his military success for up to the present day he enjoys the glory of them, for with the help of the gods he has won a victory that gives him greater honour than any other Greek (47-50). This is a reference to the battle of Himera in 480, where Hieron's older brother Gelon joined with Theron of Acragas to defeat a huge Carthaginian army.[37] It is striking to see how, with the subtle third person plural 'they found' (εὑρίϲκοντο, 48) which includes him, Hieron is credited with this victory.[38] This presents him as a *primus inter pares*, as a king of kings, who presides over all other Sicilian tyrants and is credited with their successes. I shall come back to this.

With 'just now' (νῦν γε μάν, 50) a second battle is added. The formulation suggests that it is recent. The most likely candidate is the battle of Cumae in 474, where Hieron defeated the Etruscan navy.[39] This battle is referred to explicitly in line 72 below. Hieron's power was so great that even a 'proud man' was forced to 'fawn upon him as a friend' (52). His identity is much disputed. If the reference is indeed to the battle of

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[34] *P.*5.105-107, *I.*4.29. Seeming exceptions can be accounted for. For more details see my commentary on *N.*3.17-18, 276-278.

[35] For a different opinion, see Cingano *ad loc.*, in: Gentili *et al., Pitiche,* 344.

[36] Thus Cingano *ad loc.*, in: Gentili *et al., Pitiche,* 344.

[37] Cf. Hdt.7.165ff., D.S.9.20ff.

[38] The epigram, quoted by the scholiast (152b Dr.), attributed to Simonides (*fr.*106a Diehl = *Epigr.* 34 Page), follows the same rhetorical strategy, also including Hieron's name in the list of victorious kings. See also Cingano in: Gentili *et al., Pitiche,* 11 n. 1 with further references.

[39] Thus Carey, 'Pindarica', 21ff. Others think that Pindar refers to Hieron's battle against Thrasydaeus of Acragas in 472. Thus, *i.a.*, Burton, *Pythian Odes,* 102-3; Cingano *ad loc.*, in: Gentili *et al., Pitiche,* 346. An important argument in favour of the battle of Cumae is the fact that the parallel with Philoctetes suggests that Hieron was asked to leave his island in order to assist in a battle against non-Greeks.

Cumae, he was probably the tyrant of Rhegium or an ambassador of Cumae who called upon Hieron's help.[40]

Philoctetes is adduced as a mythical *exemplum* for Hieron's role in this recent battle. This is odd at first sight. We remember Philoctetes as the lonely, misanthropical hermit, left alone on Lemnus in deplorable conditions by the Greek armies sailing to Troy because they could not bear the stench of his wound. This seems to make him a strange *exemplum* for the great tyrant of Syracuse. In the way Pindar relates the story of Philoctetes, he emphasises that he was fetched by the Greeks from his island (52), that he was wasting from his wound (52), that with his bow he destroyed Troy and ended the toils of the Greeks (54), that this was unexpected because he was very ill (55), but that he managed to do so nevertheless because it was so fated (55). Then, in line 56, all this is once again explicitly related to Hieron. On closer consideration, all these elements can be linked to Hieron's situation. Like Philoctetes, he was summoned from his island to assist the Greek armies fighting against a barbarian enemy and like Philoctetes he was succesful, defeating the enemy and bringing relief to the Greeks. Thus the parallel with Philoctetes presents Hieron as the saviour of the Greeks who defeated the barbarians. Also Philoctetes' illness, mentioned twice by Pindar, can be related to Hieron.[41] We know from the third *Pythian* ode (written between 476 and 467) that Hieron was ill. The scholia (89a and b) report that Hieron was suffering from kidney stones and that he was carried into battle on a litter. The 'hardships' in line 46 refer to his illness.[42]

In sum, the central portion of the ode praises Hieron for his military glory rather than for his athletic successes. The *exemplum* of Philoctetes puts his victory in Cumae on a par with

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[40] Cf. D.S.11.51. Cingano *ad loc.*, in: Gentili *et al.*, *Pitiche*, 346, who believes that Pindar refers to Hieron's victory in battle in 472, refers the 'proud man' to the humiliated Thrasydaeus.

[41] Cingano in: Gentili *et al.*, *Pitiche*, 16, regards the illness of Hieron and Philoctetes as the main link between the *laudandus* and the mythical *exemplum*, surprisingly ignoring the much more poignant parallel that both ensured victory for the Greeks over barbarians, which puts Hieron's victory in Cumae on a par with the capture of Troy.

[42] Thus also the scholia (87, 89ab).

the capture of Troy and presents him as nothing less than the saviour of the Greeks. Moreover, the in itself awkward circumstance of his illness is not tactfully passed over in silence, but thematized and turned into a great compliment by means of the parallel with Philoctetes, suggesting that Hieron's victory over the barbarians and his rescue of Greece was destined.

Deinomenes and Hieron
(58-80)

Μοῖϲα, καὶ πὰρ Δεινομένει κελαδῆϲαι
πίθεό μοι ποινὰν τεθρίππων·
  χάρμα δ' οὐκ ἀλλότριον νικαφορία πατέροϲ.
ἄγ' ἔπειτ' Αἴτναϲ βαϲιλεῖ φίλιον ἐξεύρωμεν ὕμνον·

τῶι πόλιν κείναν[43] θεοδμάτωι cὺν ἐλευθερίαι
Ὑλλίδοϲ ϲτάθμαϲ Ἱέρων ἐν νόμοιϲ ἔ-
  κτιϲϲε· θέλοντι δὲ Παμφύλου
καὶ μὰν Ἡρακλειδᾶν ἔκγονοι
ὄχθαιϲ ὕπο Ταϋγέτου ναίοντεϲ αἰ-
  εὶ μένειν τεθμοῖϲιν ἐν Αἰγιμιοῦ
Δωριεῖϲ. ἔϲχον δ' Ἀμύκλαϲ ὄλβιοι
Πινδόθεν ὀρνύμενοι, λευκοπώλων
  Τυνδαριδᾶν βαθύδοξοι
  γείτονεϲ, ὧν κλέοϲ ἄνθηϲεν αἰχμᾶϲ.

Ζεῦ τέλει', αἰεὶ δὲ τοιαύταν Ἀμένα παρ' ὕδωρ
αἶϲαν ἀϲτοῖϲ καὶ βαϲιλεῦϲιν διακρί-
  νειν ἔτυμον λόγον ἀνθρώπων.
ϲύν τοι τίν κεν ἁγητὴρ ἀνήρ,
υἱῶι τ' ἐπιτελλόμενοϲ, δᾶμον γεραί-
  ρων τράποι ϲύμφωνον ἐϲ ἡϲυχίαν.
λίϲϲομαι νεῦϲον, Κρονίων, ἥμερον
ὄφρα κατ' οἶκον ὁ Φοίνιξ ὁ Τυρϲα-
  νῶν τ' ἀλαλατὸϲ ἔχηι, ναυ-
  ϲίϲτονον ὕβριν ἰδὼν τὰν πρὸ Κύμαϲ,

οἷα Συρακοϲίων ἀρχῶι δαμαϲθέντεϲ πάθον,
ὠκυπόρων ἀπὸ ναῶν ὅϲφιν ἐν πόν-
  τωι βάλεθ' ἁλικίαν,

[43] κλεινὰν *varia lectio*.

Ἑλλάδ' ἐξέλκων βαρείαϲ δουλίαϲ. ἀρέομαι[44]
πὰρ μὲν ϲαλαμῖνοϲ Ἀθαναίων χάριν
μιϲθόν, ἐν Ϲπάρται δ' ⟨ἀπὸ⟩ τᾶν πρὸ Κιθαιρῶ-
νοϲ μαχᾶν,
ταῖϲι Μήδειοι κάμον ἀγκυλότοξοι,
παρὰ δὲ τὰν εὔυδρον ἀκτὰν
Ἱμέρα παίδεϲϲιν ὕμνον Δεινομένεοϲ τελέϲαιϲ,
τὸν ἐδέξαντ' ἀμφ' ἀρετᾶι, πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν καμόντων.

Muse, at the side of Deinomenes too I bid you sing the reward for the four-horse chariot, for a father's victory is no alien joy. [60] Come then, let us compose a loving hymn for Aetna's king, [strophe 4] for whom Hieron founded that city with divinely fashoned freedom under the laws of Hyllus' rule, because the descendants of Pamphylus and indeed of Heracles' sons, who dwell under the slopes of Taygeus, are determined to remain forever in the institutions of Aegimius [65] as Dorians. Blessed with prosperity, they came down from Pindus and took Amyclae, to become much acclaimed neighbours of the Tyndaridae with white horses, and the fame of their spears flourished.

[antistr. 4] Zeus Accomplisher, determine such good fortune as this always for the citizens and their kings by Amenas' water to be the true report of men. For with your help a man who is ruler [70] and instructs his son can in honouring his people turn them to harmonious peace. I beseech you, son of Cronus, grant that the war cry of the Phoenicians and Etruscans may remain quietly at home, now that they have seen their aggression bring woe to their fleet before Cumae, [epode 4] such things did they suffer when overcome by the leader of the Syracusans, who cast their youth from their swiftly sailing ships into the sea [75] and delivered Hellas from grievous slavery.

I shall earn from Salamis the Athenians' gratitude as my reward, and at Sparta I shall tell of the battle before Cithaeron, in which the curve-bowed Medes suffered defeat; but by the well-watered bank of the Himeras I shall pay to Deinomenes' sons the tribute of my hymn, [80] which they won through valour, when their enemies were defeated.

After his praise of Hieron, Pindar proceeds to pay his respect to his son Deinomenes. The reason for this very unusual inclu-

[44] Conjecture by Dawes. The mss. have αἱρέομαι.

sion of the victor's son in the ode[45] is that, some time after Hieron founded Aetna, he appointed his son as its king, as Pindar says in lines 60-1.[46] The explicit reference to this fact again presents Hieron as a *primus inter pares*, as a king of kings, in whose power it is to appoint kings.

Not much else is said about the good Deinomenes. Pindar concentrates upon the antecedents of the young city instead. He emphasizes that it was founded under the sign of 'divinely fashioned freedom' (61-2). He refers to the fact that its new inhabitants were colonists from Dorian cities[47] and turns these origins into a compliment by drawing a parallel with the Dorian invasion, associating the young city with great Dorians from the past, such as Hyllus, Pamphylus, the Heraclids and the Tyndarids (62-6). This reference to the Dorian tradition is not only in itself complimentary, it is also presented as a favourable omen for the city's future. In lines 67-8 Pindar invokes Zeus and prays that the omen may indeed find its desired fulfilment and he may take care of the good repute of the city's inhabitants.

In lines 69-70 it is said that with Zeus' help 'a man who is ruler and instructs his son can in honouring his people turn them to harmonious peace.' It is clear that this 'man who is a ruler' (ἁγητὴρ ἀνήρ) is Hieron. The king of Aetna, his son Deinomenes, is presented as his pupil. Again Hieron is presented as the great king who presides over other kings and is an example and a teacher to them. He has 'honoured (γεραίρων) his people' in the first place by means of his victory, as was said in lines 29-33 above,[48] but also by means of his military successes referred to in the previous triad, by means of

[45] He is not mentioned in the surviving fragments of the two songs composed by Bacchylides for the same occasion (Ode 4 and *fr.*20c).

[46] The gouvernment of Aetna had first been assigned to Chromius, counsellor and military commander of Gelon and Hieron. See Cingano in: Gentili *et al., Pitiche,* 11 n. 5, for further references.

[47] The refoundation of Catana as Aetna involved expelling the original Ionian population to Leontini and importing colonists from Dorian tribes. For more details, see C. Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization,* New York and Oxford 1993, 83ff. and Cingano in: Gentili *et al., Pitiche,* 11 with n. 4.

[48] For athletic victory being a γέραϲ to the city, cf. e.g. *N.*5.8 with my note *ad loc* (109-110).

which he has led his people 'to harmonious peace' (cύμφωνον ἐc ἡcυχίαν).

Pindar subsequently elaborates upon Hieron's military successes, with special emphasis on the battle of Cumae, which was probably the battle referred to in lines 50-1 above. Here we see Hieron from his aggressive side. He has brought his people harmonious peace by taking fierce action against his enemies. They had made themselves guilty of *hybris*, as it is said explicitly in line 72, and have been punished relentlessly for that. Note the evocative, plastic way in which Pindar describes how Hieron cast the young enemy soldiers from their ships into the sea (74). Thus, says Pindar, Hieron is the one 'who delivered Hellas from grievous slavery' (Ἑλλάδ' ἐξέλκων βαρείαc δουλίαc, 75). Pindar makes explicit what had been implicit in the comparison with Philoctetes, presenting Hieron as the saviour of Greece.

This is subsequently being elaborated upon in a priamel (75-80), which, as every priamel, functions as an implicit comparison.[49] Hieron's victories over the barbarians are put on a par with the victory of the Athenians, who defeated the Persians in the battle of Salamis in 480 and with the victory of the Spartans over the Persians in the battle of Plataea near Mt. Cithaeron in 479.[50] By elevating Hieron's victories to the same level as these grand renowned victories over the Persians, who are the arch-enemies of the Greeks and the great barbarian threat of Greek freedom, Hieron is presented as the champion of Greek civilization and as the saviour of Greece. Moreover, the way in which the comparison is made entails an extra compliment to Hieron, for, as Pindar puts it, he and his brother[51] alone match the joined armies of the Athenians and the Spartans.

[49] A fact that is tragically ignored in Bundy's influential *Studia Pindarica*.
[50] Thus also Cingano in: Gentili *et al., Pitiche*, 17-18.
[51] 'The sons of Deinomenes' (79) are Hieron and Gelon.

The Good King
(81-100)

καιρὸν εἰ φθέγξαιο, πολλῶν πείρατα cυντανύcαιc
ἐν βραχεῖ, μείων ἕπεται μῶμοc ἀνθρώ-
   πων· ἀπὸ γὰρ κόροc ἀμβλύνει
αἰανὴc ταχείαc ἐλπίδαc,
ἀcτῶν δ' ἀκοὰ κρύφιον θυμὸν βαρύ-
   νει μάλιcτ' ἐcλοῖcιν ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοιc.
ἀλλ' ὅμωc, κρέccον γὰρ οἰκτιρμοῦ φθόνοc,
μὴ παρίει καλά. νώμα δικαίωι
   πηδαλίωι cτρατόν· ἀψευ-
   δεῖ δὲ πρὸc ἄκμονι χάλκευε γλῶccαν.

εἴ τι καὶ φλαῦρον παραιθύccει, μέγα τοι φέρεται,
πὰρ cέθεν. πολλῶν ταμίαc ἐccί· πολλοὶ
   μάρτυρεc ἀμφοτέροιc πιcτοί.
εὐανθεῖ δ' ἐν ὀργᾶι παρμένων,
εἴπερ τι φιλεῖc ἀκοὰν ἁδεῖαν αἰ-
   εὶ κλύειν, μὴ κάμνε λίαν δαπάναιc·
ἐξίει δ' ὥcπερ κυβερνάταc ἀνὴρ
ἱcτίον ἀνεμόεν {πετάcαιc}[52]. μὴ δολωθῇc,
   ὦ φίλε, κέρδεcιν ἐντραπέ-
   λοιc· ὀπιθόμβροτον αὔχημα δόξαc

οἶον ἀποιχομένων ἀνδρῶν δίαιταν μανύει
καὶ λογίοιc καὶ ἀοιδοῖc. οὐ φθίνει Κροί-
   cου φιλόφρων ἀρετά.
τὸν δὲ ταύρωι χαλκέωι καυτῆρα νηλέα νόον
ἐχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντᾶι φάτιc,
οὐδέ νιν φόρμιγγεc ὑπωρόφιαι κοινανίαν
μαλθακὰν παίδων ὀάροιcι δέκονται.
τὸ δὲ παθεῖν εὖ πρῶτον ἀέθλων·
   εὖ δ' ἀκούειν δευτέρα μοῖρ'· ἀμφοτέροιcι δ' ἀνὴρ
ὃc ἂν ἐγκύρcηι καὶ ἕληι, cτέφανον ὕψιcτον δέδεκται.

[strophe 5] If you should speak to the point bt combining the strands of many things in brief, less criticism follows men, for cloying excess dulls eager expectations, and townsmen are grieved in their secret hearts especially when they hear of others' successes. [85] But nevertheless, since envy is better that pity, do not pass over any noble things.

[52] *Secl.* Callierges.

> Keep guiding your people with a rudder of justice. Continue to forge your tongue on an anvil of truth: [antistr. 5] even some slight thing, you know, becomes important if it flies out from you; you are the steward of many things; many are the sure witnesses for deeds of both kinds. Keep abiding in flourishing high spirits. [90] If indeed you love always to hear pleasant things said about yoy, do not grow too tired of spending, but let out the sail, like a helmsman, to the wind. Do not be deceived, my friend, by shameful gains, for the posthumous acclaim of fame [epode 5] alone reveals the life of men who are dead and gone to both chroniclers and poets. The kindly excellence of Croesus does not perish, [95] but universal execration overwhelms Phalaris, that man of pitiless spirit who burned men in his bronze bull, and no lyres in banquet halls welcome him in gentle fellowship with boys' voices. Success is the first of prizes; and renown the second portion; but the man who [100] meets with both and gains them has won the highest crown.

The concluding triad of the ode consists in an elaborate reflection on the king's role in general. Traditionally this has been interpreted as some kind of *Fürstenspiegel*, as Pindar, like King Lear's jester, holding a mirror up to the monarch's face.[53] Consequently, it was a much disputed question whom Pindar would be instructing, Hieron or Deinomenes. The more one wants to maintain that Pindar is lecturing, the more one will be inclined to think of Deinomenes as the addressee, especially since he has been presented as a pupil in line 70 above.[54] However, Pindar's didactical prerogative must not be over-emphasised. His lecturing a king is not in keeping with the aims of the genre. Pindar is paid to praise, not to teach. Morover, the passage in which he reflects on the role of the king is in lines 81-6 announced as praise (especially by means of the self-exhortation 'do not pass over any noble things', μὴ παρίει καλά, 86),

[53] "Throughout the poem he (*sc.* Pindar) speaks to the Sicilian rulers in accents of praise and yet also of warning, as if he were conscious of a mission to instruct them in the arts of living and of government," Burton, *Pythian Odes*, 91.

[54] Thus Schroeder, *Pythien*, 9. "The trst of the poem, especially the last triad, is addressed to his (*sc.* Hieron's) son, and reveals Pindar as an educator of princes and something of a propagandist for the Dorian way of life," Burton, *Pythian Odes*, 103; *ibid.* 108-109.

not as a lesson.[55] All this makes the traditional interpretation of the passage as a *Fürstenspiegel* problematic.

Miller justly emphasized that *present* tense imperatives are used in this passage and that in general the choice of the present imperative is motivated by the fact that the action the person addressed is urged to take is already being performed at the moment of exhortation. Thus, the general sense of the passage is: "keep on doing the (admirable) things you have been doing thus far."[56] So Hieron is addressed and the passage is not an admonition, but praise. No doubt this praise of Hieron is intended as an indirect lesson for Deinomenes, for the idea of Hieron being an example for his son is present throughout the ode.

The praise is announced in a passage (81-6) bearing close resemblance to lines 42-5 above. Pindar thematizes his encomiastic duties and expresses his awareness of the fact that he runs the risk of overwhelming his audience when praising Hieron. Again, the implications are that there is very much praiseworthy to say about Hieron and that everything we shall hear will be but the tip of the iceberg.

In praising Hieron's government, the poet emphasizes that he guides his people with the rudder of justice (86), that he is thruthful (86) and must be because every word of a man of his stature is weighed on a gold balance (87-8). Hieron is urged to remain faithful to his spirit (89), for it has brought him much good so far. And most of all he must remain faithful to taking care of his renown. In wartime a tyrant wins glory by defeating formidable enemies. This Hieron has done and Pindar has

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[55] *Pace* Burton, *Pythian Odes*, 108. I do not see why the reference to καλά would be "more appropriate to a young man at the outset of his career as a king than to an established ruler who has already reached the pinnacle of fame," as Burton believes.

[56] Miller, 'Apolline Ethics', 482 n. 56. See further Sicking, 'Distribution of Aorist and Present', 14-43 and 154-170, esp. 157, 160-161; Nickau, 'Verbalaspekt', 158-166; and my note on *P.*8.98-99 (600-601). Robbins, *Companion*, 266-267 n. 43, says: "the imperatives addressed to Hieron [...] pretend that the qualities he is encouraged to manifest already exist. They may in actual fact *not* exist but the poet tactfully suggests that they do." This may be true. But would this tactful presentation not depend exactly on the fact that the present tense stem form conveys the information that the addressee is already doing what he is entreated to do?

told us about it at length. The typical way for a tyrant to win good repute in peacetime is, apart from adherance to justice and truth, expenditure (δαπάναι, 90). Emphasis on the necessity to spend money is a typical element in propaganda for tyrannies and this need not surprise us. Tyrants are rich and in an excellent position to enrich themselves even more. Their wealth may very easily become a source of envy and a thorne in the flesh of those they rule. The stability of their position depends for a considerable part on finding an excuse for their wealth and the typical excuse is that they do not enrich themselves or pursue wealth for its own sake, but rather use it for the benefit of their people. The wealthier the tyrant, the sooner he will want himself to be considered as a generous benefactor, who spends money on the adornment of the city with splendid new temples and monuments, who takes care of the glory of his people abroad by paying for expensive treasuries in the great Panhellenic sanctuaries[57] and who maintains an expensive racing stable in order to win prestigious prizes in the great Panhellenic festivals and have the name of the city proclaimed by the herald. By having won a victory in the chariot race at the Pythian games Hieron has, according to this logic, shown that he is the right kind of tyrant, making use of his wealth by spending it for the glory of his people.

The all-imporance of posthumous renown is demonstrated by means of two contrasting examples (94-8). Croesus was the faboulously rich king of Lydia and he used his wealth in the right way, being a great benefactor of the Greeks, e.g. by, like Hieron,[58] contributing considerably to the improval of Apollo's shrine in Delphi.[59] This has won him great renown up to the present day. Phalaris, on the other hand, was the faboulously rich but exceptionally cruel tyrant of Acragas, who roasted his victims in a bronze bull, so constructed that their screams sounded like the bellowing of the beast. Although he may

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[57] The Deinomenids did so extensively, specially after the victory in Himera. Cf. B.3.17-8, 63ff., Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F 193, D.S.11.25.1, 26.7, Plut.*Mor.* 397e, Paus.6.19.7.

[58] See Cingano in: Gentili *et al., Pitiche*, 19 with n. 1, and his note *ad loc.*, 362, for references.

[59] Cf. B.3.23-62.

have been rich and powerful during his life, his posthumous reputation has been ruined for ever by his cruelty.[60] So success is one thing (99). But Phalaris had as much success as Croesus, so success alone will not do. That people talk well about you is the second thing (99). That is exactly the difference between Croesus and Phalaris. Best of all is to have both (100).

And then the ode is finished. Imagine with what impression the audience gathered in Aetna will have been left behind. 'The man who has both success and is well spoken about has won the highest crown.' And there, before their eyes, stands the great tyrant of Syracuse, founder of their city, teacher of their king, commander of the Sicilians, subduer of barbarians, punisher of *hybris*, saviour of Greece, who has recently won one of the greatest battles in the history of Greek civilization and who has now won the most prestigious prize there is to win at the Pythian games — if the audience were to think of an example of someone who is succesful, of whom would they think? And there, before their eyes, stands the great tyrant of Syracuse, who has just been glorified in a impressive, bountiful five-triad ode of the great poet Pindar — if they were to think of an example of someone who is well spoken about, of whom would they think? Pindar need not be more explicit than he is. He has convinced his audience that Hieron has reached the highest a mortal can achieve.

Pindar's Rhetoric of Propaganda

When compared to the rest of the *corpus*, the first *Pythian* stands out for three reasons. First, the ode is occasioned by Hieron's chariot race victory at the Pythian games, but his athletic success hardly gets attention and is entirely eclipsed by his military successes,[61] especially by his recent victory in the bat-

[60] Cingano in: Gentili *et al.*, *Pitiche*, 19, helpfully points out that there is a parallel between Phalaris and Typhos in that both are enemies of music and both are associated with the destructive force of fire.

[61] As a contrast, Bacchylides' brief *epinicion* composed to commemorate the same victory (Ode 4) focuses predominantly upon his athletic successes. This lends credibility to Cingano's suggestion (in: Gentili *et al.*, *Pitiche*, 9) that

tle of Cumae. Second, the ode is not, as would be usual for odes of this length, performed in the victor's home-town, but in Aetna, recently founded by Hieron. This circumstance leaves its traces in the themes addressed in the ode.[62] Moreover, it results in the fact that the king of Aetna, Hieron's son Deinomenes, finds a place in Pindar's rhetoric. Thus the ode has, as it were, two addressees. Third, the ode has no elaborate central mythical tableau, which is very unusual for an ode of this length. There is a little bit of Philoctetes the middle, true, but it is hardly enough to be considered a central myth. The function of the central myth is being fulfilled by the elaborate proem.

These three partcularities form a clue as to what Pindar's main rhetorical aims must have been. First, the emphasis on Hieron's military exploits and especially his victory in Cumae is motivated by the fact that they allow Pindar to present Hieron as nothing less than the saviour of Greece, who has defended Greek freedom against the barbarians, so as to be comparible to Philoctetes who took Troy and the armed forces of Athens and Sparta who defeated the Persian army at Salamis and Plataea. Second, the circumstance of performance in the newly founded city of Aetna with its newly appointed king Deinomenes is by Pindar exploited in two different ways. He emphasizes the Dorian tradition of the city, suggesting that it is, though new, as Greek as can be, and that it is destined for glory. Moreover, the fact that Deinomenes has been appointed by Hieron enables Pindar to present Hieron as a *primus inter pares*, a king of kings, who appoints kings, is a teacher to them and an example. This theme is fully exploited in the closing passage, where the praise of Hieron exalts him to an example to all kings on earth.

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the three songs commisioned by Hieron for this victory are designed to complement one another.

[62] Burton, *Pythian Odes*, 99, even goes so far as to submit that "The terms and context of this proclamation (referring to lines 29-33, ILP) suggest that the foundation of Etna is the principal achievement which Pindar was commissioned to celebrate: the victory is an augury of prosperity for the city, a good omen at the beginning of its life under Deinomenes, but otherwise little more than an incidental ornament to the main theme."

These two strategies combined lead to one over-all impression, which was certainly part of Pindar's main rhetorical objective. Hieron is presented as the saviour of Greece and as a king who is elevated above other kings and who has thus a natural right to rule over others. But was that the truth? Does Pindar present a thruthful image of Hieron? This seems *a priori* unlikely. Of course, Hieron's tyranny was not undisputed. It can be assumed that Hieron, as any tyrant, had to face internal opposition. More importantly, there are indications that the other tyrants of Sicily challanged his supremacy. The decade preceding the performance of this ode was characterized by intense political and military activity. In 472, two years before the performance of this ode, he had to face Thrasydaeus of Acragas, Theron's son, in battle.[63] Against this background, it can be seen that Pindar does not aim at presenting an honest portrait of Hieron, but rather adresses elements in his audience in Aetna and abroad[64] who oppose Hieron and exerts himself to provide a legitimization of his supremacy. He does so by sublimating his military victories to the level of the capture of Troy, Salamis and Plataea, making him the champion and defender of all that is Greek, by presenting his disputed supremacy as exemplary to other tyrants and by continuously suggesting that he has the gods on his side, of which his recent athletic victory is presented as proof.

This leaves us with the question with which we started: how is the elaborate proem about the power of Olympian music relevant to all this? First, as we have observed, the proem thematizes the power of Zeus, by referring to his thunderbolt, his scepter and his punishment of Typhos. On a very basic level this functions as a compliment to the patron deity of the newly founded city of Aetna. Second, as we have also observed, the proem suggests a parallel between the divine performance described and the performance of the current

[63] For a detailed overview of Hieron's political manoeuvres, see Cingano in: Gentili *et al.*, *Pitiche*, 10-12, with many references.

[64] Pindar thematizes the capacity of song to travel and spread the victor's fame to his contemporaries abroad in passages like *N.*5.1-5, *O.*9.21-26, *P.*2.67-68 and *I.*4.40-42. For the Panhellenic dimension of Pindar's profession, see my *Thee Odes*, 7-11.

ode taking place before the audience's eyes. It is worth our while to take this parallel one step further.

All creatures dear to Zeus are lulled to sleep by the music of Apollo and the Muses. The effect sorted by their song can be described as peace among the good and just. If we look at the opening triad more precisely, we see that Pindar underscores three specific elements that are lulled to sleep by the song: Zeus' thunderbolt, the eagle on his scepter, and Ares. The thunderbolt is the instrument and symbol of Zeus' punishing power. Note that the thunderbolt is adorned with the eye-catching adjective 'warring' (αἰχματάν, 5). The eagle on his scepter, too, is a symbol of his supremacy. Note that the eagle is called 'the king of birds' (ἀρχὸϲ οἰωνῶν, 7). Ares is the god of war and explicitly presented as such (he gets the adjective 'violent', βιατάϲ, in line 10 and his 'sharp-pointed spears' are explicitly mentioned in 10-1). The kind of peace that falls over Mt. Olympus when Apollo and the Muses sing their song is peace in which there is no need for demonstration of Zeus' supremacy, use of his punishing power and war.[65] The contrast with Typhos makes clear that this kind of peace ensues when Zeus' supremacy is recognized. Apparently Pindar wants to suggest, by implication, that the performance of his current ode has a comparable effect. It effects a similar kind of peace, in which there is no need for demonstrations of the monarch's power, for waving ostentatively with his scepter, executing punitive expeditions and waging war on his enemies. This is the kind of peace that ensues when the monarch's supremacy is recognized. It is obvious that Pindar suggests a parallel between the recognition of Zeus' power and the recognition of Hieron's supremacy.

This implied parallel between Zeus and Hieron,[66] already suggested, as we have seen, by their juxtaposition in lines 29-33, becomes even more poignant when we compare the two faces of Zeus in the proem with the two faces of Hieron in

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[65] Cingano in: Gentili *et al., Pitiche*, 13, says that Ares is explicitly singled out because, as the war-god, he is the insensitive and hostile to harmony. However, the relevance of his being mentioned is more specific: the fact that he is lulled to sleep defines the musical harmony as peace.

[66] Appreciated by Cingano in: Gentili *et al., Pitiche*, 14 and 18.

lines 69-75. The symbols of Zeus' power sleep when everything is in order and he is surrounded by creatures dear to him, but the second half of the proem shows what his power is capable of as soon as his supremacy is challanged: he crushes the monster Typhos, symbol of *hybris*, and the smoking volcano in the background still testifies to this relentless punishment. Something very similar is said about Hieron in lines 69-75. He is a benefactor to his people, who has brought about a 'harmonious peace', a cύμφωνοc ἡcυχία (70), but as soon as he is confronted with enemies who are guilty of *hybris*, he shows his aggressive face and crushes them relentlessly.[67] Pindar's emphasis on the two-sidedness of both Zeus and Hieron also has a strongly persuasive function. It is a warning to those who challange Hieron's supremacy. Now it is peace, thanks to Hieron, but do not be mistaken: as soon as you resist him, you are guilty of *hybris* and will be relentlessly punished by him for that, just like Typhos was punished by Zeus. There is a clear parallel bewteen the enchanting peace effected by the divine music in the proem and the 'harmonious peace' brought about by Hieron. In fact, the very rare and eye-catching metaphor 'harmonious' (cύμφωνοc), imported from the semantic field of musical terminology, is designed exactly to attract attention to this parallel.[68]

The implied parallel between Zeus and Hieron is in itself, of course, almost too complimentary for words. But apart from that, it fits Pindar's rhetorical strategy exactly. The suggestion is that Hieron, on earth, has a similar status as Zeus on the Olympus: a *primus inter pares* indeed, a king ruling over other kings. Moreover, it is suggested that both Zeus and Hieron are

[67] Burton, *Pythian Odes*, 92-93, links Thyphos to the Phoenician and Etruscan barbarians and Phalaris. Cingano (in: Gentili *et al.*, *Pitiche*, 13), too , recognizes the parallel between Typhos and the Etruscan forces, helpfully insisting (*ibid.*, 14) that, according to a different mythological tradition, Typhos was buried under Mt. Vesuvius near Cumae. But the implications go further than that. Typhos, singled out as a symbol of any threat to Zeus' world order, parallels not only the Etruscan armies, but any enemy opposing Hieron's supremacy.

[68] Note that the Phoenician and Etruscan hostilities are also described in an auditive way by means of ἀλαλατόc in line 72. Burton, *Pythian Odes*, 93, speaks of the "discordant battle-howl." Cf. *ibid.* 104-105.

punishers of *hybris*, which puts Hieron's enemies on a par with horrible monsters like Typhos who are a threat to world order.[69] But they can be assured that Hieron will punish them in exactly the same way as Zeus punished Typhos and restored world order. One can hardly think of a more persuasive attempt to legitimate Hieron's power.

By suggesting a parallel between the divine performance and the current performance of his own ode, Pindar makes his own ode a symbol of the 'harmonious peace' that Hieron has brought about. When we realise that the performance of Pindar's ode is an integral part of the public tribute to Hieron's victory, not a solo-performance nor Pindar's own personal expression of solidarity, but a collective celebration performed by a chorus consisting of citizens of Aetna and symbolizing the community as a whole and that thus the performance of this ode is a demonstration on the part of the citizens of Aetna of their collective gratitude for the honour that Hieron has brought their city and of their collective recognition of Hieron's status of the great tyrant of Syracuse, founder of their city, teacher of their king, commander of the Sicilians, subduer of barbarians, punisher of *hybris*, saviour of Greece, then everything falls into place: the collective recognition of Hieron's special status is a symbol of the 'harmonious peace' he has brought about. Peace and prosperity depend upon recognition of Hieron's supremacy.

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[69] Thus also Hubbard, *Pindaric Mind*, 92; Cingano in: Gentili *et al.*, *Pitiche*, 18.

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CHORAL AGONS IN DEMOCRATIC ATHENS, 510-400 BC

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The aim of this paper is to examine the evidence for choral ('dithyrambic') agons in 5th-century Athens, and for interpreting these agons as literary propaganda, both externally, as manifestations of the Athenian state as a cultural entity with regard to other Greek states, and internally, as a means of furthering the solidarity feeling between the various divisions of the Athenian state, especially the Clisthenic tribes, with regard to other divisions, for example other Clisthenic tribes. For reasons that, I hope, will become clear later on, I will leave out of account the tragic and comic agons.

I shall take my cue from the following passage in Lysias, in which the speaker does his very best to avoid *atimia* (Lys.21.1-4; Test. 104 Ieranò 1997):[1]

> [1] [...] ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐδοκιμάσθην μὲν ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου ἄρχοντος, καταστὰς δὲ χορηγὸς τραγῳδοῖς ἀνήλωσα τριάκοντα μνᾶς καὶ τρίτῳ μηνὶ Θαργηλίοις νικήσας ἀνδρικῷ χορῷ δισχιλίας δραχμάς, ἐπὶ δὲ Γλαυκίππου ἄρχοντος εἰς πυρριχιστὰς Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ὀκτακοσίας. [2] ἔτι δ' ἀνδράσι χορηγῶν εἰς Διονύσια ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐνίκησα, καὶ ἀνήλωσα σὺν τῇ τοῦ τρίποδος ἀναθέσει πεντακισχιλίας δραχμάς, καὶ ἐπὶ Διοκλέους Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μικροῖς κυκλίῳ[2] χορῷ τριακοσίας. τὸν δὲ μεταξὺ χρόνον ἐτριηράρχουν ἑπτὰ ἔτη, καὶ ἓξ τάλαντα ἀνήλωσα. [3] καὶ τοσαύτας δαπάνας δαπανώμενος, καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κινδυνεύων καὶ ἀποδημῶν, ὅμως εἰσφορὰν[3] τὴν μὲν τριάκοντα μνᾶς τὴν δὲ τετρακισχιλίας δραχμὰς εἰσενήνοχα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατέπλευσα ἐπὶ Ἀλεξίου ἄρχοντος, εὐθὺς

[1] Cf. the extensive discussion of this passage in Wilson, *Khoregia*, 89-93.

[2] κυκλικῷ X : κυκλίῳ Taylor, as 5th century usage requires. Cf. Käppel, 'Bakchylides und das System', 22-26.

[3] εἰσφορὰς Markland, perhaps better.

ἐγυμνασιάρχουν εἰς Προμήθεια,[4] καὶ ἐνίκων ἀναλώσας δώδεκα μνᾶς. [4] καὶ ὕστερον κατέστην χορηγὸς παιδικῷ χορῷ καὶ ἀνήλωσα πλεῖν ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα μνᾶς. ἐπὶ δὲ Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος κωμῳδοῖς χορηγῶν Κηφισοδώρῳ[5] ἐνίκων, καὶ ἀνήλωσα σὺν τῇ τῆς σκευῆς ἀναθέσει ἑκκαίδεκα μνᾶς, καὶ Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μικροῖς ἐχορήγουν πυρριχισταῖς ἀγενείοις, καὶ ἀνήλωσα ἑπτὰ μνᾶς.

[1] [...] I was admitted as a citizen under the archonship of Theopompus (411/10), and having been appointed *choregos* for the tragic contest I spent 30 mnas, and two months later, as a winner at the Thargelia with a men's chorus, 2,000 drachmas; under the archonship of Glaucippus (410/09) for *pyrrichistai* at the greater Panatheaea, 800 drachmas. [2] Besides, as a choregos for a men's chorus at the Dionysia during that same archonship I won, and spent, including the gift of the tripod, 5,000 drachmas. Under the archonship of Diocles (409/08) at the lesser Panathenaea I spent for a circular chorus 300 drachmas. In the time between those years and the one to be mentioned presently, I was a trierarch for seven years,[6] and spent 6 talents. [3] Having spent so much money, and running risks every day on your behalf, and being abroad, nevertheless I have paid the 30-mna contribution and the 4,000-drachma contribution. When I returned, under the archonship of Alexias (405/04), I took up the gymnasiarchy for the Promethia, and won, having spent 12 mnas. [4] Later,[7] I was appointed choregos for the boys' chorus, and spent more than 15 mnas. Under the archonship of Euclides (403/02), as a choregos for the comic contest for Cephisodorus, I won, and spent, including the gift of the equipment, 16 mnas; at the lesser Panathenaea I was choregos for the beardless *pyrrichistai*, and spent 7 mnas.

We do not have to believe everything the speaker says he has spent, but the amounts must have seemed credible to an Athenian jury ca. 400 BC. Leaving aside the non-literary items, we get the following list, in descending order of the amounts spent:

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[4] Προμήθεια transmitted, but cf. *IG* II^2 1138 as quoted below.

[5] Κηφισοδότῳ X : corr. Clinton.

[6] Between 411/10 and 405/04.

[7] Perhaps during the *anarchia* of 404/3, as suggested, amongst others, by Mette (*Urkunden*, 3 n. 1).

- 5,000 dr. men's chorus at Dionysia, victory, including tripod (409)
- 3,000 dr. tragedy (at Lenaea or Dionysia)[8] (410)
- 2,000 dr. men's chorus at Thargelia, victory (410)
- 1,600 dr. comedy, victory, including dedication (at Lenaea or Dionysia) (402)
- >1,500 dr. boys' chorus (unspecified festival) (after 405/04)
- 1,200 dr. gymnasiarch at Promethia, victory (405/04)
- 800 dr. *pyrrichistai* at greater Panathenaea (410)
- 700 dr. beardless *pyrrichistai* at lesser Panathenaea (402)
- 300 dr. circular chorus at lesser Panathenaea (409)

These amounts seem to confirm Demosthenes' statement (21.156) that everybody knows that a men's chorus (at the Dionysia, as the context indicates) is much more expensive than a tragic chorus. The cost of the tripod that had to be dedicated has to be deducted from the 5,000 dr. for the men's chorus[9] (it can be inferred from the speaker's silence that he did not win with his tragic chorus in 410); nevertheless the difference is substantial, if perhaps less so than we would have assumed on the basis of Demosthenes alone (but we might have guessed that, because in the orators 'everybody knows' is a sure sign of exaggeration, or even falsehood).

An excursus on the tripod is in order. I find it hard to swallow that "the prize won by the victorious tribe was a tripod, which was dedicated to Dionysus, with an appropriate mon-

[8] But more probably at the Dionysia, because if tragedies at the Dionysia were a greater strain on the *choregos'* pocket than at the Lenaea (which is almost certain), then the passage would certainly contradict D.21.156 as treated below if our speaker's *choregia* had been for the Lenaea.

[9] *IG* II^2 1635aA.33-34 (between 377 and 374) suggests between 500 and 1,000 drachmas as the cost of one tripod. Cf. Wilson, *Khoregia*, 206, who overlooks the fact that the amount recorded (presumably for two choruses) is not X but X[.], that is to say, 1,100, 1,500 or 2,000 drachmas.

umental setting."[10] These scholars follow, like so many others the Scholia on Aesch.1.10 (test. 122 Ieranò): 'the winning chorus gets a tripod, which it dedicates to Dionysus.' But the scholiast is not a gentleman worthy implicit belief: he goes on to report that there were choruses of 50 men or boys, ten in all — in other words, presumably five men's and five boys' choruses, which is contradicted by the famous inscription *IG* II/III^2 2318 (about which much more below), which reports a victory for the tribe Cecropis at the Dionysia both for the men's and the boys' chorus in the same year 332).[11] The scholiast is obviously confusing the Thargelia and the Dionysia here. As for the tripod, it is never mentioned as simply a prize except in the patently late fabrications Simon. *FGE* xxviii and xxvii. By contrast another epigram ascribed to Bacchylides or Simonides (*AP* 13.28) but attributed to the 5th-century poet Antigenes by Page, certainly a poem in which I can find nothing that would rule out a later fifth-century date,[12] mentions tripods dedicated not won, and the same inference must be drawn from Pl. *Grg.*472a5-b1 and [D].42.22. The key text is the following passage from Isaeus (5.41):

> Καὶ τούτων μαρτύρια ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναθήματα ἐκεῖνοι ἐκ τῶν περιόντων, μνημεῖα τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς, ἀνέθεσαν, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Διονύσου τρίποδας, οὓς χορηγοῦντες καὶ νικῶντες ἔλαβον, τοῦτο δ' ἐν Πυθίου.

> And as evidence for this they erected dedications in the sanctuaries from what remained of their wealth,[13] memorials of their virtue, both tripods in the sanctuary of Dionysus, which

[10] Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*, 36; cf. Ieranò, *Il ditirambo*, 247. This means, I presume, that all the *choregos* had to provide was a socle and an inscription.

[11] Mette, *Urkunden*, 36. It will not do to explain this away as an "accidental dislocation" (Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*, 36 n. 1.

[12] Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*, 16, says: "there is no doubt of its early date, *c.* 485 B.C."; he is follwed with customary lack of criticism by Wilson, *Khoregia*, 120-123, cf. 120: "It is genrally regarded as dating from the early fifth century, perhaps as early as 490." But the metre (4 *da* + *ith* || x e x D ⏑——|||) certainly suggests a late-5th or 4th-century date.

[13] Meaning: from what was left over after spending so much money on various liturgies.

they had received after victorious choregiai, and in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythius.

I conclude that the victorious choregos reveived a tripod, which he had to pay for himself, and which he had to dedicate in the appropriate sanctuary, the Dionysium (near the theatre) at the Dionysia, the Pythium at the Thargelia. So the tripods could be spoken of in a loose sense as prizes, or perhaps more precisely as symbols of victory, already in *CGE* 270, (10) below, where it is the didaskalos who νικῆσαί φησι περὶ τρίποδος.

It is usually believed that the difference in cost between tragic and circular[14] choruses can be explained by the fact that the former had only 15 members, the latter 50. But a tragic chorus had to perform three tragedies and a satyr-play, so its training must have taken up much more time than that of a circular chorus, which performed one song only. So most of the extra expenses for the choral agon must have gone not to extra mouths to feed, but to extra-sumptuous equipment.[15]

A closer approximation can be found in the 1,600 drachmas of the comic victory, since the performance of a comedy took up only one quarter of the time of that of a tragic 'tetralogy.' We start again from a chorus of 15 men, whose upkeep would require somewhat under 100 drachmas each (because the expense includes the dresses and masks and the upkeep of the actors though not the *didaskalos*, who was paid by the state). Now since 1 drachme a day seems to be, for 5th-century Athens, the normal amount reckoned to feed one man, this — admittedly very rough — calculation would yield a rehearsing period of somewhat under 100 days for the chorus, which would seem more than adequate.

For a 50-men chorus, 5,000 drachmas would seem very ample indeed, because no matter how intricate and lengthy the ode, a circular chorus cannot have taken up more time to perform than half that part of a comedy in which a chorus is ac-

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[14] I prefer this term to 'dithyrambic', because it better fits the usage of the time; cf. Käppel as quoted above for proof that the two are synonymous.

[15] It is only by dint of neglecting the variable periods of training that Wilson can arrive at his surprising conclusion that "the tragic *khoregia* [...] represented a more intensively lavish case of choral expenditure [than the men's chorus choregia]" (*Khoregia*, 94).

tive, probably less, therefore a rehearsing period of somewhat under 100 days is very high indeed.[16] Consequently a far greater part of the amount must have been spent on equipment and other secondary costs.

In any case the choral agon must have been a much more prestigious affair than the comic and tragic ones, if both the speaker of Lysias 21 and Demosthenes take it for granted that their audiences will agree that a choral agon costs more, even considerably more, than a tragic agon: the extra expense was, presumably, more than compensated by the extra *kudos* which the choral agon bestowed on the *choregos*.

This inference contradicts the normal view that the tragic (and to a lesser extent the comic) agon was the most important literary event at the Dionysia, and the choral agon a side-show at best. Obviously, wealthy Athenians were if not perhaps quite happy, at any rate quite prepared, to spend considerably more on the alleged side-show, and with a far smaller chance of winning (one in ten against one in five or three) at that. Our view of the Dionysia, as of so many other things, is conditioned by the transmission: we have thirty-two tragedies and eleven comedies, and very little of dithyrambic or other poetry sung by circular choruses. Besides, some later dithyrambic poets were strongly criticised by their contemporaries, and what little has been preserved of them does not invite to modify the judgment, hence a tendency to regard the choral agon as inferior to the tragic and comic ones is reinforced by what we perceive to be the quality of the poetry performed at the former. Yet such an attitude is illogical, because strong criticism from some quarters may well imply immense popularity in others. In short, we fall prey to the fallacy of assuming that whatever we consider important or otherwise the Greeks must have valued identically.

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[16] The absence of actors and the fact that in the choral agon the poet probably had to be paid by the choregos roughly cancel each other out. Besides, in this case the speaker was a winner as well as in the men's choral agon, so in both cases a dedicatory gift (τῇ τῆς σκευῆς ἀναθέσει here, that is to say, presumably, the masks and clothes) was included in the total expense.

The question then arises why the choral agon, at which each competitor had only an hour or so for the performance, was so much more prestigious than the tragic agon, at which each competitor had a whole day, or the comic agon, at which each competitor had two hours at least. And at least part of the answer must lie in the fact that at the tragic agon, three (and at the comic agon five at first, later three) individual citizens[17] competed for the prize as *choregoi*, whereas at the choral agon, it was in fact the ten tribes who competed, with the *choregos* in a subsidiary role. Partly also, the choral agon was thought to be prescribed by oracles from Delphi and Dodona (D.21.52-53), whereas no such religious authority is given in our sources for the tragic and comic agons.[18]

The primary part played by the tribes is reflected in the dedicational inscriptions, which, during the fifth century at least, always put the name of the tribe first, that of the *choregos* second (conveniently found in Ieranò, *Il ditirambo*, 331-351). But we have more concrete data. Under Athenian law it was the tribes who, in a session of the People's Assembly, drew the lot for the order in which they would choose the *aulos*-players, in one case even though the tribe Pandionis did not even have a *choregos* yet (D.22.13). A fragment of Amphis (F 14.6-7 *PCG*; test. 90 Ieranò 1997) tells much the same story:

φυλὴν περιμένω
σφόδρα φιλονικοῦσαν λαχεῖν τιν'.

I am waiting for some very ambitious tribe to draw the lot.[19]

So the *choregos* at the choral agon at the Dionysia is different from his tragic colleague that he is first and foremost the representative of his tribe, and the prestige given by a victory goes to his tribe. Has it always been that way? If so, given the fact that the choral agon at the Dionysia was instituted, we are

[17] Cf. Arist.*AthPol.*56.3 as quoted below, the first sentence.

[18] If there were oracles dealing with the tragic agons, we would surely have heard about them, so here, I feel, the argument from silence is valid; perhaps less so for the comic agon.

[19] Cf. also Ar.*Av.*1403-1404: Ταυτὶ πεπόηκας τὸν κυκλιοδιδάσκαλον, | ὃς ταῖσι φυλαῖς περιμάχητός εἰμ' ἀεί;

told, in 509 or 508, a case could be, and has often been made that the choral agon was part and parcel of the Clisthenic reforms. That is a problem that can only be solved through a fresh examination of data on *all* choral agons in Athens, not only those at the Dionysia, and secondly through careful analysis of what little we know about the chronology of these reforms.

The Old Oligarch gives a list of festivals at which choregoi have to be judged every year: Dionysia, Thargelia, Panathenaea, Promethia, Hephaestia ([X].*Resp.Ath.*3.4). Except for the Panathenaea, these festivals recur in an inscription erected shortly after 402 by the deme Pandionis in honour of one Nicias son of Epigenes, winner (in 403/2?) of the boys' choral agon at the Dionysia and the men's agon at the Thargelia (*IG* II^2 1138.9-11; test. 96a Ieranò):

> ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ ἔ τις ἄλλος νενίκηκεν ἀπ' Εὐκλείδο ἄρχοντος παισὶν ἢ ἀνδράσιν Διονύσια ἢ Θαργήλια ἢ Προμήθια ἢ ʽ Ηφαίστια.
>
> And to inscribe also whoever will have won [for Pandionis] after the archonship of Euclides (403/2) with a boys' chorus or a men's chorus, whether at the Dionysia, the Thargelia, the Promethia or the Hephaestia.

This is followed by columns for victors with men's choruses at the Dionysia (no entry), boys' choruses at the Dionysia (three entries, Nicias the first, the statesman and orator Andocides second), men's choruses at the Thargelia (four entries, Nicias the first), boys' choruses at the Thargelia (four entries). No separate columns are reserved for victories at the Promethia or the Hephaestia, presumably because the tribe did not produce a victor.[20] The tribe stopped bringing the inscription up to date, it is estimated, around the middle of the fourth cen-

[20] Not, I think, because in hindsight these games were considered too unimportant: the speaker of Lysias 21 spent 1,200 drachmae for the Promethia (presumably a boys' chorus plus a gymnasiarchy), hardly less than the >1,500 drachmae he spent on the boys' chorus at the unmentioned festival.

tury. Since the Panathenaea are not mentioned in the inscription, tribes were necessarily not involved in them.[21]

We know too little about the last two (except, as we saw, that the Promethia involved a gymnasiarchy as well), so I shall leave them out of account. I start with the Thargelia, which pose a number of intricate problems. We have to solve them, or at least suggest a solution to them, if we are to understand the Dionysia. The best way of tackling the complex of problems is to analyse a passage from the *Ath.Pol.* of Aristotle, or perhaps of the network of researchers that calls itself 'Aristotle' (Arist.*AthPol.* 56.3; Test. 103 Ieranò):

> ἔπειτα χορηγοὺς τραγῳδοῖς καθίστησι τρεῖς, ἐξ ἁπάντων Ἀθηναίων τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους· πρότερον δὲ καὶ κωμῳδοῖς καθίστη πέντε, νῦν δὲ τούτους αἱ φυλαὶ φέρουσιν. ἔπειτα παραλαβὼν τοὺς χορηγούς, τοὺς ἐνηνεγμένους ὑπὸ τῶν φυλῶν εἰς Διονύσια ἀνδράσιν καὶ παισὶν καὶ κωμῳδοῖς, καὶ εἰς Θαργήλια ἀνδράσιν καὶ παισίν (εἰσὶ δ' οἱ μὲν εἰς Διονύσια κατὰ φυλάς, εἰς Θαργήλια ⟨δὲ⟩ δυεῖν φυλαῖν εἷς· παρέχει δ' ἐν μέρει ἑκατέρα τῶν φυλῶν), τούτοις τὰς ἀντιδόσεις ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς σκήψεις εἰσάγει, κτλ.
>
> Next, he [the archon eponymus] appoints three choregoi for the tragic agon from all Athenians, the richest ones; formerly he also appointed five choregoi for the comic agon, but nowadays these are proposed by the tribes. Next, he takes in the choregoi that are proposed by the tribes for the men's and boys' and comic agon at the Dionysia, and at the Thargelia for the men's and boys' agon (these choruses are by tribe for the Dionysia, but for the Thargelia there is one chorus for two tribes: each of a pair of tribes contributes one chorus in turn); he settles the exchanges among them and lodges their claims to exemption, etc.

For the Dionysia, the logical inference from this passage is that there are twenty *choregoi* for the men's and boys' choruses, proposed by the tribes, and this is borne out by *IG* I^2 2318, which, as we saw, recorded a victory for Cecropis both in the boys' and in the men's chorus in 332, shortly before the

[21] Although tribes were involved in athletic games at the Panathenaea, cf. J. Neils, 'The Panathenaea and Kleisthenic Ideology' in: W.D.E. Coulson *et al.* (edd.), *The Archeology of Athens and Attika,* Oxford 1994, 151-160. I owe this reference to Ms. D.E. Kretschmann.

Ath.Pol. was completed. How does this work out for the Thargelia? Various scenarios are discussed by Ieranò (*Il ditirambo*, pp. 266-267), but the most likely is that five tribes were obliged to propose a *choregos* for the men's choruses, and the other five for the boys' choruses. In the fourth century, the tribes seem to have been paired on a permanent basis,[22] but for the fifth, we have a witness that tells us otherwise (Ant. 6.11-12):

> ἐπειδὴ χορηγὸς κατεστάθην εἰς Θαργήλια καὶ ἔλαχον Πανтακλέα διδάσκαλον καὶ Κεκροπίδα φυλὴν πρὸς τῆι ἐμαυτοῦ [τουτέστι τῆι Ἐρεχθηΐδι], [...] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἧκον οἱ παῖδες, κτλ.
>
> When I was appointed[23] *choregos* for the Thargelia and I had drawn by lot Pantacles for my *didaskalos*, and the Cecropis tribe in addition to my own [the Erechtheïs], [...] when the boys had come, etc.

What has happened is that the Erechtheïs tribe had proposed the defendant of this speech as a choregos for the boys' chorus at the Thargelia; the speaker had first been allotted a *didaskalos*, and then the tribe to match his, namely Cecropis. It seems a fair inference that Erechtheïs had had to submit a *choregos* for the men's chorus at the Thargelia the year before; in other words, that for the Thargelia, in the 5th century five tribes were appointed to propose a *choregos* for the

[22] More precisely: this pairing came into force between 383 and 364. Cf. Rhodes *Athenaion Politeia*, 624; Ieranò *Il ditirambo*, 352.

[23] The verb καθίστημι is here used from the speaker's perspective: his tribe nominated him its official candidate for choregos. In (4), the same verb is used of the archon eponymus, who it may be inferred appointed the *choregoi* whom their tribes had proposed (φέρω), after the ἀντιδόσεις and the claims to exemption had been settled — he appoints (καθίστησι) the *choregoi* for the tragic agon straight away. One wonders if the speaker of (5) also ran the risk of an ἀντίδοσις challenge and if he lodged a complaint (if so, it was not granted). It is very interesting to note that Aristotle mentions the possibility of ἀντίδοσις and σκῆψις in the case of the comic agon and the chorus agons at the Dionysia and the Thargelia, but does not do so in the case of the tragic agon. It looks as if the archon could settle challenges and complaints for the tragic agon by himself; but the candidates put forward by the tribes had a more official status. This confirms my suspicion that the chorus agons (and in the fourth century the comic agons) were more prestigious than the tragic ones.

men's chorus (to which five others were allotted), and the five others for the boys' chorus (to which, likewise, five others were allotted), and that the next year the tribes that had had to supply a *choregos* for the men's chorus automatically had to propose one for the boys' chorus. Therefore, the chorus agons at the Thargelia were, one would expect *a priori*, half as prestigious as the men's and boys' choral agons at the Dionysia. This fits the expenses reported by the speaker of Lysias 21: 5,000 drachmae for a men's chorus at the Dionysia as against 2,000 drachmae for a men's chorus at the Thargelia — in both cases the speaker was victorious, and it seems that the victory at the Dionysia entailed more extra expenses than the one at the Thargelia, since the dedication of the tripod is mentioned for the Dionysia, not for the Thargelia, even though we know that at the Thargelia tripods were dedicated as well, and even though the speaker had won at the Thargelia one year earlier than at the Dionysia.

Of the 5th-century inscriptions that record a victory at the Thargelia, only one (*IG* I^3 966, dated between ca. 425 and 403, and thus roughly coeval with Ant. 6) states that the victory was one in the boys' chorus contest. Since it is certain that in 470 at the very latest there was both a men's chorus and a boys' chorus contest at the Dionysia, it might be inferred that the boys' contest at the Thargelia was a later addition. The supposition may be right, but the reasons for it are wrong, because the dedicatory inscriptions for the Dionysia exhibit the same picture: only one inscription (*IG* I^3 961, after 450) specifies παιδῶν (cf. the discussion of *IG* 1^3.833bis, *CEG* 270, test. 92 Ieranò below). It appears that in the fifth century, ἀνδρῶν is the default value in dedicatory inscriptions recording victories both in the Dionysia and in the Thargelia.

Next, what indications do we have as to the date when the choral agons were instituted at the Thargelia? Various proposals are based on the datum that the victory tripods were dedicated in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythius, and combine this

with an extant inscription (*IG* I^2 761+; *CEG* 305),[24] quoted by Thucydides (6.54.7). I give the latter's text:

> μνῆμα τόδ' ἧς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστρατος Ἱππίου υἱός
> θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τεμένει.

> This token of memory of his archonship (522/1) was dedicated by Pisistratus, son of Hippias, in the *temenos* of Apollo Pythius.

Various scholars entertain the possibility that Pisistratus the Younger instituted the choral agon at the Thargelia during his archonship.[25] Arnush[26] prefers a date in the nineties of the fifth century (Pisistratus memorating his archonship some thirty years after the event), because many scholars think the letters of the inscription too advanced for the sixth century. I shall not have to deal with the epigraphic problem, because both hypotheses make an entirely unwarranted link between a dedication of an altar, as stated specifically by Thucydides, in the *temenos* of Apollo Pythius — there never was, or so it seems, a temple of Apollo Pythius —, and the choral agon at the Thargelia, whose victors, as we saw, dedicated tripods in this same *temenos*. This *temenos* is the logical place for such dedications — rather than, for example the temple of Apollo Patrous, given the fact that choral agons started as dithyrambs, that is to say, as cultic songs for Dionysus: of the various cults of Apollo in Athens, that of Apollo Pythius was the most logical centre for dedications made after dithyrambic agons, since Delphi was a sanctuary shared between Apollo and Dionysus, as is emphasised by Bacchylides 16.[27]

By the same token, I feel that the possibility of a choral agon being instituted at the Thargelia before a similar agon was introduced at the Dionysia, which the *Marmor Parium*

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[24] On the date of the inscription, and its possible consequences for Pisistratus the Younger living in Athens in the early fifth century, cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 'Cultural Politics', 89-91.

[25] Thus, e.g., Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 96.

[26] 'The Career of Pisistratus', 151-155..

[27] Cf. Maehler, *Bacchylides*, 149-150; Ieranò, *Il ditirambo*, 283-285; Plu.389a-c, Test. 134 Ieranò.

tells us first took place in 509 or 508, is out of the question. True enough, Bacchylides' alleged dithyrambs "had nothing to do with Dionysus", but Pindar's had, and there is some evidence that places Pindar in Athens shortly after 500 BC.[28] Therefore, until prove of the contrary has been supplied, there is a strong *prima facie* case for the Thargelia agon to have been instituted later than the one at the Dionysia.

There is, besides, the type of tribal agon to consider. At the Dionysia agons, the tribe is the winner: as we saw, in 5th-century dedicational inscriptions for these agons, the tribe is always named first. By contrast, at the Thargelia, the *choregos* is clearly considered the winner, inasmuch as in the inscriptions for those games, his name is mentioned first; the names of the two tribes for which he has won the agon are given only after his.[29]

Consequently, one cannot but suppose that the Thargelia agons were a *calque* of the Dionysia agons. At some point in time during the fifth century, it was decided that a choral agon (perhaps first of men, later of men and boys, but the chronology is quite uncertain) was going to take place at this festival, but at a minor scale compared to the Dionysia agons. The tribes were involved in the organisation, but the agon at the Thargelia was not an agon between tribes. The tribal organisation was taken over from the Dionysia, but with an important change in scope: here the tribes were bureaucratic units that had to be drawn upon in order to make the games work. They were not, as they were at the Dionysia, competing divisions of the Athenian demos.

I will skip the highly intricate problem of agons of circular choruses at the Panathenaea, because data about their history and format are too few to be of any help in getting any closer to a solution of the problem that concerns us here.[30] That leaves us with the dithyrambic agon at the Dionysia.

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[28] Cf. Slings, 'Literature in Athens', 64-65.

[29] Cf. Ieranò, *Il ditirambo*, 351-356.

[30] A recent treatment is to be found in Kotsidu, *Die musischen Agone*. Cf. also Wilson, *Khoregia*, 36-43.

Before dealing with the epigraphic data, I have to discuss some literary epigrams that deal with such victories, to which I have already alluded briefly. First an epigram about a victory won by Simonides in 476, preserved by the Hermogenes commentator Syrianus; the last two lines also by Plutarch (*FGE* xxviii; test. 101 Ieranò):

> ἦρχεν Ἀδείμαντος μὲν Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτ' ἐνίκα
> Ἀντιοχὶς φυλὴ δαιδάλεον τρίποδα·
> Ξεινοφίλου δέ τις υἱὸς Ἀριστείδης ἐχορήγει
> πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν καλὰ μαθόντι χορῷ·
> ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίῃ δὲ Σιμωνίδῃ ἕσπετο κῦδος
> ὀγδωκονταέτει παιδὶ Λεωπρεπέος.

> Adimantos was *archon* in Athens, when the tribe Antiochis won the well-wrought tripod; a son of Xenophilus, one Aristides was *choregos* of the chorus of fifty men which had been trained beautifully. Because of his being *didaskalos*, Simonides acquired glory, eighty years old, son of Leoprepes.

First, we have independent testimony for Simonides winning the dithyrambic agon in the year stated: the *Marmor Parium*, *FGrH* 239A54.[31] But that does not save our witness. Following some of his predecessors, Page rightly considers the τις in line 3 an unsurmountable obstacle to accepting the authenticity of this fabrication.[32] But there is more. Although, as we saw, it was perhaps possible to say that a tribe 'won a tripod,' νικάω with the accusative of the prize won (as opposed to, e.g., νικάω τὰ Ὀλύμπια) has no parallel in classical Greek. I find it hard to believe that this text could have been written at any date earlier than the later Hellenistic period. Consequently, this epigram has no authority whatsoever. It could have been made up by anyone who knew that Simonides was victorious under the archonship of Adimantus. The name of the tribe

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[31] In my 'Literature in Athens', 62, I argue that since his victory places Simonides in Athens in 477/6, he may be the author of the epigram on the new statues of Harmonides and Aristogiton (*FGE* i). In a forthcoming paper in *Lampas*, I suggest that he may also have written the three Eion epigrams (*FGE* xl).

[32] Needless to say Wilson, *Khoregia*, 218, does not mention Page's and others' doubts about the authenticity.

may well be an anachronism: other evidence will have to decide whether a tribe rather than a poet could be the winner of the agon as early as 477/6.

About *FGE* xxvii (test. 100 Ieranò), the least said the better. Given the vocative Σιμωνίδη this cannot come from a 5th-century inscription. Simonides is here stated to have won 56 bulls and as many tripods. As this poem states neither tribe nor *choregos*, it need not detain us any longer. Page may be right in suspecting χορὸν ἀνδρῶν to be a *calque* of *FGE* xxviii.[33]

The first epigraphic text that we shall have to deal with is a *didaskalos* epigram, three fragments of which have been found on or near the Acropolis (*IG* 1^3.833bis; *CEG* 270; test. 92 Ieranò). I give the text as printed in *IG* I^3, omitting dots under letters:

[—⏑⏑]ρας hο[.....]τον 'Αθένεσ[ιν χορ]ôι ἀνδρôν
 [—⏑⏑]τες σοφ[ίες] τόνδ' ἀνέθε[κ]εν hόρον
εὐχσ[άμενο[ς· π]λείστοις δὲ [χ]οροῖς ἔχσο κατὰ φῦ[λα
 ἀνδ]ρôν νι[κε̃]σαί φεσι π[ερ]ὶ τρίποδος

[When? —]ras [first?] in Athens with a men's chorus [competed?], he dedicated this landmark of his poetical skill, because of a vow; he claims, among very many men's choruses of outsiders,[34] tribe by tribe, to have won the contest for the tripod.

Let me first get rid of a factoid that has too often marred the discussion of this epigram. If the text of this inscription was composed by the *didaskalos*, and if πρῶ]τον is correctly supplied in line 1, then the *didaskalos* is very unlikely to have been Simonides, and the inscription probably does not refer to Simonides' victory of 477, because Simonides never uses 'Attic' correption before mute cum liquid at the beginning of a prosodic group, and very rarely so within one.[35] The decision hinges mainly on the word supplied before πρῶ]τον: if this

[33] Here, too, Wilson, *Khoregia*, 218 accepts the text without any criticism.
[34] I.e., of other tribes; 'with very many *khoroi* abroad', Wilson, *Khoregia*, 217, is unlikely at best, as it leaves κατὰ φῦλα in the air.
[35] Slings, 'Hermesianax', 36.

was hó[δε Simonides' authorship is out of the question, if is was the prepositive conjunction hó[τε, it is possible, if only just. But if the reference is to the first time that Simonides competed in Athens, 477 seems highly unlikely anyway: what about the time when Lasus and Simonides competed? Was Lasus still around in 477? Hardly so.[36]

What we do know is that the letters of this inscription squarely place it between 480-470, according to *IG* I^3; the crossed theta definitely makes a later date unlikely. If]ρας is correctly read at the beginning of line 1 (νικέ]σας *CEG*, but sigma seems definitely less likely than rho)[37], one might think of a proper name. Diago]ras of Melos (Wilamowitz) is, however, out of the question as our sources are unanimous in identifying him with the famous atheist (*PMG* 738-739), who lived far too late. I have no alternative, but there must be hundreds of dithyrambic poets whose names we do not know.[38]

Let us concentrate on what we can definitely learn from this inscription. It is, I feel, useless to dispute that it refers to any other victory than one at the Dionysia: as we saw, the agon of circular choruses at the Thargelia was very probably a *calque* of the one at the Dionysia, and we have no indication that it existed before ca. 425. The twofold ἀνδρῶν leaves no doubt that by 470, there were contests both of men's and of boys' choruses at the Dionysia. And the words κατὰ φῦλα establish beyond doubt that the classical format of the dithyrambic agons at the Dionysia, (twenty choruses in all, for each tribe ten for men and ten for boys) was already in place by 470.[39] The fact that the inscription mentions neither the tribe

[36] Cf. Slings, 'Literature in Athens', 62 n. 19

[37] And besides, there is already an undoubted occurrence of the verb νικάω in line 4. True, ἀνδρῶν occurs twice too, but repeating a minor point is something different from proclaiming one's victory twice in four lines.

[38] Any name ending in *-agoras* will do, given the immense popularity of such names in the Ionic area in the sixth and fifth centuries.

[39] The dedicatory inscription reported by Plutarch (*Arist.*1.3) Ἀντιοχὶς ἐνίκα, Ἀριστείδης ἐχορήγει, Ἀρχέστρατος ἐδίδασκε, which may well be genuine even if Plutarch seems to exaggerate when he speaks of tripods in the plural, and despite Panaetius' claim that the inscription refers to another Aristides (1.6), cannot help us any further because Aristides died some time after 470.

nor the *choregos* does not need to detain us, given its firm epigraphical date.

Finally, *IG* II/III[2] 2318, the great *didaskalia* inscription that records victories at the Dionysia from an unknown point in the late 6th century to sometime after 328. I give the entry for the Dionysia of 458, the first to be preserved completely:

ἐπι Φιλο]κλέου[ς
Οἰν]ηὶς παίδων
Δημόδοκος ἐχορήγει
Ἱπποθωντὶς ἀνδρῶν
Εὐκτήμων Ἐλευ: ἐχορή
κωμωιδῶν
Εὐρυκλείδης ἐχορήγει
Εὐφρόνιος ἐδίδασκε
τραγωιδῶν
Ξενοκλῆς Ἀφιδνα: ἐχορή
Αἰσχύλος ἐδίδασκεν

Under the archonship of Philocles (459/58), Oeneis won the boys' contest as Demodocus was *choregos*, Hippothontis the men's contest as Euctemon of Eleusis was *choregos*; comic contest: Euryclides was *choregos*, Euphronius *didaskalos*; tragic contest: Xenocles of Aphidnae was *choregos*, Aeschylus *didaskalos*. (*fr.* b2.3-13; test. 95 Ieranò)[40]

The most obvious question about this inscription is infact seldom asked: how do we account for the order in which the various events are reported? Why the comic agon before the tragic, when tradition, and the great majority of modern scholars, places the introduction of the tragic agon before that of the comic? Why are boys' choruses put before men's choruses when, as we saw, in 5th-century texts men's chorus were, as I said, the default value?

The answer I am about to submit is, I think, new. When drawing up this inscription, its author placed new events before old ones: thus, comedy before tragedy, and boys' choruses before men's choruses. The *MP* (239A46) specifically refers to χοροὶ [...] ἀνδρῶν in the entry about the first dithyrambic agon in Athens.

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[40] Mette, *Urkunden*, 13.

What else does this inscription teach us about the early history of the dithyrambic agon in Athens? Not very much I am afraid. Matters are certainly not helped by Mette's positivist reconstruction, who prints, between strongly misleading square half-brackets, everything he thinks he knows about the events, in some cases even resorting to giving texts for entire columns that we do not know were even there. Thus, under 508 he prints winning tribes and *choregoi* for boys' and men's choruses, although as we saw it is extremely unlikely that boys' choruses were there right from the beginning, and the Clisthenic tribes certainly did not yet exist.[41] We cannot even be sure that the first year that the dithyrambic agon was instituted was 509/08, it may just as well have been 510/09 (the year to which *MP* 239A46 refers may be either), which would seriously jeopardise his entire reconstruction, which neatly starts with Thespis in 533, a date not given at all by any ancient authority (we are given the Olympiad, not the year — the *MP* (239A43) does give a year, but it is uncertain which.[42] Mette has in fact rendered a great disservice to Greek scholarship because of this uncritical and worthless reconstruction.[43]

What we do know is that the differentiation between men's and boys' choruses existed already in 470, because *fr.* b1, which mostly refers to this year, reads πα]ίδων | ἀνδρ]ῶν | ἐχ]ορή in lines 9-12. This fits the data of *FGE* xxviii; test. 101 Ieranò (discussed above), which also shows that by 470 the contest was one between tribes.

The inscription cannot help us any further. Therefore, it may be useful to give a list of what we actually do know about the dithyrambic agon at the Dionysia:

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[41] Mette, *Urkunden*, 6-7.

[42] See West's salutary warnings about putting too much trust in the earliest data about Greek tragedy: "Thespis comes three Olympiads before Choerilus, Choerilus three Olympiads before Phrynichus; while Phrynichus comes three Olympiads before Pratinas" ('Early Chronology', 251).

[43] For alternative views on the first date of the inscription, cf. West, 'Early Chronology', 251 n. 1; Wilson, *Khoregia*, 313 nn. 10-11.

- 509 or 508, dithyrambic agon of men's choruses instituted at the initiative of Lasus of Hermione (*MP* 239A46)[44]
- 508/7, beginning of Clisthenes' democratic reforms (Arist. *AthPol* 21.1)
- 501/0 (??), complete implementation of Clisthenes' reforms (Arist. *AthPol* 22.2)
- by 470, differentiation between men's and boys' choruses (*IG* II/III^2 2318.b1.9-12; *CEG* 270)
- by 470, agon of men's and boys' choruses organised by tribe (*CEG* 270)

It is uncertain when boys' choruses started as a special event; it may have taken only a couple of years after 509 or 508 to introduce this novelty, but then again it may also have occurred shortly before 470.[45] Perhaps 478, after the Persian wars were over, is a suitable date, but of course that is pure speculation. Another, but to my mind less likely possibility is the democratic reform 'two years after the battle of Marathon' (Arist.*Ath.Pol.*), when ostracism was introduced or first used.[46]

More relevant for our purpose is the link between the dithyrambic agon and the ten tribes. Here, I would regard a date before 500 as highly unlikely, but any date between 500 and 470 will do. Again, 478 seems a possibility, or perhaps 485.

But what we can say with absolute certainty is that the dithyrambic agon did not start as a cultural event designed to strengthen the solidarity between the ten Clisthenic tribes. On the contrary, it started as a private initiative of Lasus, who was already active in Athens under the Pisistratids, and had nothing to do with Clisthenes' reforms, which it predates by one year. Only later on did the Athenian authorities make use of this already existing agon to turn it into a tribal contest, and as such

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[44] The competitors may have been a couple of *choregoi*, if the *choregos* system was already in operation in the last decade of the 6th century. As I argued in my 'Literature in Athens', 64-65, there is no need to assume that Lasus instituted the choral agon under the tyranny, and there is evidence that places Lasus in democratic Athens.

[45] Wilson, *Khoregia*, 17 begs the question when he writes that "It may be that very soon after, perhaps in the year of Alkmaion's archonship (508/7), that configuration was changed to fit the radical new pattern of the Kleisthenic *phylai*", a speculation which later in his book he uses as hard fact.

[46] Cf. Rhodes, *Athenaion Polteia*, 267-269.

it became the most important literary *choregia.* Propaganda for democratic institutions it may have been turned into, it definitely did not start as such.

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PROPAGANDA AND COMPETITION IN ATHENIAN ORATORY

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Defining propaganda is a bit like trying to catch a greased pig: slippery. The word *propaganda* is used to designate both process and individual product. This presumably accounts (at least in part) for the fact that dictionary and encyclopedia entries differ in the presence or absence of the concept of system.[1] But there is another aspect to the elusiveness of the word: *propaganda* is not only (if at all) an objective designator of a phenomenon but (especially but not exclusively in its derogative sense) also a subjective evaluation. The point at which information becomes propaganda is therefore imprecise; the key discriminator is frequently the perspective of the observer: my views convey information necessary to allow people to make the correct decision, yours are propaganda.[2] At its most expansive, the definition could be taken to include all political (in the broadest sense) discourse, irrespective of the source, the kind, number or range of media used, the number of occasions or the volume of resources. However, even on the most inclusive definition, it is difficult to escape the conclu-

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[1] I offer here a small selection of dictionary definitions: "1. Organized propagation of a doctrine by use of publicity, selected information, etc. 2 usu. *derog.* ideas etc. so propagated," *The Pocket Oxford Dictionary of Current English*; "Information, ideas, opinions or images, often only giving one part of an argument, which are broadcast, published or in some other way spread with the intention of influencing people's opinions," *Cambridge Dictionaries online*; "The systematic propagation of a doctrine or cause or of information reflecting the views and interests of those advocating such a doctrine or cause. 2. Material disseminated [...]," *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language.*

[2] See on this subject J. Hesk, 'The Rhetoric of Anti-Rhetoric in Athenian Oratory', in: S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (edd.), *Performance Culture and Athenain Democracy*, Cambridge 1999, 201-230, 201ff.

sion that scale, organization, system, repetition are important factors in the success of propaganda; certainly for most of us they are crucial for the labeling of disseminated views or information as propaganda, irrespective of dictionary definitions; and individual publications, statements or images tend to be labeled propaganda when they form part of a larger process of persuasion. In what follows, the emphasis will be on sustained attempts to influence public opinion.

Though in employing the term 'propaganda' we are imposing a modern category on to ancient discourse, we are not smuggling in a practice alien to the Greeks. We can readily detect examples of what we would term propaganda in both interstate and domestic politics, and in more than one polis. An obvious example in interstate politics is the Spartan claim during the Peloponnesian War to be the liberators of Hellas. The claim proved hollow in the event, not least when Sparta negotiated away the Greek cities of Ionia to Persia in return for the money needed to maintain a fleet capable of facing Athens. But it was an attractive rallying cry and it was used as such by Sparta even before hostilities commenced, in the context of the diplomatic exchanges in the period immediately preceding the war.[3] This manoeuvring itself could reasonably be described as a propaganda skirmish. In the various challenges and counter-challenges detailed by Thucydides in book 1 of his history we are witnessing at least in part a contest, played out like a game of poker, for the moral advantage. We also know that for all the bluster the Spartans were aware of the hollowness of their cause (7.18.2). Within Athens itself, at two periods in the fifth century we have evidence for concerted efforts made by radical reformers to invest constitutional change with the sanctity of tradition by careful re-presentation of past and present. According to *Ath.Pol.*25.2, Ephiates in the 460s stripped the Areopagos of *ta epitheta*, 'the additions'.[4] It is highly unlikely that anyone in the classical period at Athens had access to reliable information on the genesis and early de-

[3] The liberation of Hellas 1.139.3, the general manoeuvring Thuc.1.126-139; cf. 2.8.4.

[4] On *ta epitheta* see P.J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford 1981, 314-5.

velopment of the Areopagos. What we are witnessing is an attempt by the radical democrats to present reform as restoration. The same technique was used by the oligarchs of 411 and 404 (*Ath.Pol*29.3-5, 34.3, 35.2); both claimed to be restoring a pre-Ephialtic constitution, the former using Kleisthenes as a democratic fig-leaf, the latter more blatantly bypassing a century of democratization.[5]

Nor are we importing into the study of ancient Greece a phenomenon unrecognizable to the Greeks themselves. Though there is no single Greek term equivalent to our word 'propaganda', the Greeks were familiar with attempts to fashion perceptions and beliefs, though they described the process in language which was generally non-specialized and frequently colourless. A Greek of the archaic or classical, period would have used the generic language of *peitho*, persuasion, and its cognates to describe attempts to shape opinion and policy. To describe more concerted efforts, they had recourse to a variety of terms. These included:

- repetition, *hekastote*, as when the Corinthians remind the Spartans of their persistent efforts to alert them to the threat posed by Athens (Thuc.1.68.2);
- habit, *eiothenai*, as when Perikles repeats his stock arguments designed to convince the Athenians of the superiority of their strategic position in the war (Thuc.2.13.9);
- frequency, *pollakis*, as when Themistokles reiterated his views on the strategic value of the Peiraeus (Thuc.1.93.8) or Demosthenes describes his attempts to alert Greece to the danger presented by Philip (Dem.18.295);
- persistence, *aei*, as when Theramenes sets out at his trial his claim to the political centre ground in the form of his consistent opposition to the extremes of democracy and oligarchy (Xen.*Hell.*2.3.48).

To designate misleading propaganda, they could use *exapatan*, as Demosthenes does when describing the systematic decep-

[5] On the *patrios politeia* in the context of see in particular M.I. Finley, *The Use and Abuse of History*, London 1975, 34-59; see also J.T. Roberts, *Athens on Trial: The Antidemocratic Tradition in Western Thought*, Princeton (NJ) 1994, 60ff.

tion and corruption perpetrated by the agents of Philip in the various Greek states (18.295). They could use the terminology of pretext, as in Lys.12.6, where *prophasis* contrasts the public professions of the Thirty in seizing innocent metics (grounded in turn on repeated claims to be purging the city of malefactors[6]) with their real motives. Thuc. (8.89.3) uses *schema* in a similar way of professions which mask real intent (there the distinction between the political rallying cry of the counter-revolutionaries and their real ambitions); at.3.82.8 he uses *onoma* of the political creeds used as a pretext for violence in times of civil unrest. So the all-embracing concept may be anachronistic; but the phenomena which we associate with it were both experienced or practised and recognized by the Greeks themselves.

In one important respect however, modern terminology threatens to mislead. Though the term 'propaganda' can be used with reference to pressure groups and political parties, it is most often associated with governments, which have the motive and the means to massage information in a wide range of ways, from the suppression of reports or facts through the manipulation of the time of unwelcome news[7] and from the partial (in both senses) presentation of data to outright falsehood. For the same reason, dictionaries and encyclopedias cite as examples Soviet Communism and Nazism, the most sustained, blatant and cynical examples of the manipulation, wholesale invention and suppression of information by governments. With reference to Athens at least the nature of government makes it necessary to distance ourselves consciously from this dimension of the modern experience. There was certainly scope for civic propaganda in Athens. All Greek cities nurtured their image and used a range of means, from coinage through architecture to civic and panhellenic cults and competitions to define and aggrandize themselves. Athens was no

[6] Lys.12.5 , Xen.*Hell.*2.3.12, *Ath.Pol.*35.2-3.

[7] The most notorious recent example (distinctive however only in its blatancy) is the adviser to a Labour minister who circulated a message on 11 September 2001 (the day of the suicide attack on the twin towers of the World Trade Centre) to the effect that this was a good day to 'bury' bad news.

different from other Greek cities in this respect. Indeed, arguably of all the cities in classical Greece Athens had the richest vocabulary of signs, both collective and individual, and the largest number of occasions for self-presentation. It had developed and elaborated under the democracy a number of occasions on which the city could reiterate its collective self-image. It was a peculiarity of Athenian war practice that they burned the bodies of those who died in battle and brought the remains home. They then held a state funeral at the end of each war year for those who had died in battle for the city. This solemn collective funeral was made the occasion for a eulogy pronounced over the dead and games held in their honour. The funeral oration (the descendent of the lyric *threnos*) and the games (associated with kings and aristocrats from Homer onward) gave those who die for the democratic polis a public honour which in earlier ages would have been the prerogative of the elite. The funeral oration was used as an opportunity to praise the traditions, the political system and the culture which produced the dead men and made the event a celebration of the whole polis.[8] Similarly, Athens exploited the panhellenic audience at the Dionysia and cultural status of Athenian tragedy to turn this festival in part into a display of Athenian wealth and power (in the fifth century), the loyalty of Athens' citizens and the city's readiness to repay that loyalty,[9] as well of course as Athens' claim to be the cultural capital of Greece.

But if Athens was as alert as other cities to the importance of civic propaganda, in domestic politics there was one modern dimension largely lacking. There was in Athens no such thing as 'the government' as a distinct entity. The use of the lot for filling most public posts and the near-universal rules for strictly limited terms of office and non-repetition, combined with the absence both of formally recognized political parties and of any conception of a mandate to govern for a period,

[8] For the funeral oration see in general N. Loraux, *The Invention of Athens: The Funeral Oration in the Classical City*, Cambridge (MA) 1986.

[9] For a good general discussion see S. Goldhill, 'The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology', in: J.J. Winkler and F. Zeitlin (edd.), *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?*, Princeton (NJ) 1990, 97-129.

meant that, though the Athenians had terminology for politically active *individuals* and for those with formal authority, there was no government as a recognizable entity distinct from the people. This severely restricted the scope for the downward manipulation of public opinion by a central controlling body. Furthermore, since there was no government beyond the demos, and nothing resembling a modern civil service, there was no privileged access to information of the sort we associate with modern governments. There were presumably individual family traditions.[10] But since eminent families had every reason to publicize their achievements (and to hide their failures), any information which could be used in a public context was no secret. Manipulation therefore tends to take two forms. It consists either of the citizen population collectively presenting itself in a given way either to impress others or to remind and reassure itself or of attempts by individuals or groups to influence the sovereign demos. Propaganda is horizontal or upward in movement, not downward. And though it inevitably involves a selective use, biased presentation or even invention of 'facts' about past and present, it is rarely based on control of information.

In evaluating the role of oratory in propaganda, it is important to be aware that we are merely isolating one means of shaping opinion; oratory operates within a larger system of signs. The wealth of opportunities for self-presentation visible at civic level also distinguished Athens at the level of individual and familial activity. Some of these were no different from any other state. This applies, for instance, to familial issues such as naming[11] and marriage alliances, to external relationships, such as *xenia* or formal *proxenia*, to participation in the panhellenic games as a means of acquiring personal prestige and civic gratitude. But the complex (by ancient standards) administrative

[10] See R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens*, Cambridge 1989, 95-154.

[11] Thus anyone who called his son Lakedaimonios, as did Kimon, was both signaling his position on external policy and expressing an admiration for Sparta. The Athenian in this respect was in much the same position as the politically active member of any other state, such as the Spartan who named his son Samios (Hdt.3.55).

structures of Athenian democracy meant that there was also a range of iterative means of self-presentation available through the liturgy system. Liturgies offered a two way trade. They gave the demos a means of funding festival and other activities and ensured the systemic subordination of elite competition to the authority of the masses. They offered the elite an arena for acceptable conspicuous consumption. We know from comedy and the orators that lavish feasting could attract criticism.[12] Other kinds of elaborate display could also give rise to resentment.[13] For much of the fifth century even private funerary display seems to have been (by custom or law) off limits. As acceptable display liturgies offered a means of gaining status and at the same time a claim on the goodwill of the demos. Liturgies were expensive. Yet despite some inevitable liturgy-dodging, the state was able to maintain an uninterrupted stream of festival liturgists for the lifetime of the democracy and (with various adjustments) support for the running of the fleet. It was also possible to go one better than the liturgy with the *epidosis*, the voluntary donation, either to the state or (as in Lys.16.14) to smaller groups. And in a society which tended to view the individual firmly within the family group, the credit for such acts could be stored up from one generation to the next. The visibility of public-spirited behaviour was both enhanced and extended in time by choragic monuments and by recognition in inscriptions (Athens was unusual in the sheer volume of inscriptional ouput).

All of this remains unfocused; it is a process of acquiring and retaining credibility with the demos, not a political platform in itself. But without it no amount of public speaking is likely to carry weight.

Even at the level of more active political intervention, public speaking is only the most visible form of (non-military) political act. Much political activity was relatively informal. For instance, though both the democratic and oligarchic reformers in fifth century Athens must have used speeches in Assembly and Boule as the primary means of disseminating 'bogus histo-

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[12] For the ethical problems of lavish eating and drinking see especially J. Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes*, London 1997.

[13] Cf. Dem.3.29, 21.158.

ry',[14] these will have been backed up by a large amount of lobbying at informal gatherings, principally but not exclusively at symposia, designed to gain the support, neutrality or acquiescence of potentially influential opponents; in the case of the oligarchs at least these formal and informal means will have been complemented by attempts by the *hetaireiai* (*Ath. Pol.* 34.3, Thuc.8.65, Lys.12.76) to gain as many active adherents and sympathizers as possible and to generate rumour serviceable to their cause. The same presumably applies to Ephialtes and associates, irrespective of whether or not they would have used the term *hetaireia* to describe their organization.

Finally, even where oratory is deployed, it is not always wise to rely on the spoken word alone. It often pays to magnify the impact of a speech. Modern politicians use media interviews and other devices[15] to manipulate the reception of a speech both before and after it is delivered. The political claque played a somewhat similar role in Athens. The speaker at [Dem.]59.65, describing the role of his opponent as a minor member of a political faction, places him among 'those who shout by the *bema*', evidently those who shout approval for their own associates and heckle opposing speakers as a means of shaping the audience perception of the plausibility and popularity of arguments advanced. Similar practices can be witnessed in modern parliaments.

However, though oratory is only one among a number of means of shaping opinion, belief and decision, and although it cannot function alone, it was the most potent device available. Extended speech had a crucial role in public decision-making in all Greek political systems. But Athens was distinctive in the room it gave for oratory to influence public opinion. As Demosthenes observes (1.4), the autocrat like Philip of Macedon can move from thought to action with a speed denied the democracy, where decisions are collective and discussions are

[14] The term is taken from Finley, *Use and Abuse,* 41.

[15] On the use of targeted discussion with opinion formers to shape reaction to a speech see Anonymous, *Primary Colours* (Random House 1996), especially 79 on the 'spin room'.

open. An oligarchic regime again can make decisions in secrecy and act on its own initiative. This is however more than a question of the scale of participation. The opportunities to deploy oratory to effect were more numerous in Athens. Apart from the forty meetings of the Assembly each year (in the fourth century at least), plus special meetings when called, there was the Council of 500, whose deliberations were crucial for the shape and tenor of the recommendations which would go forward in the form of a *probouleuma* to the Assembly. The courts offer yet another forum. Not all trials were political; nor were all elite trials political. But the courts were part of the political process, through the procedures for *dokimasia* and *euthyna*, through the regular *epicheirotonia* on the state officials in the Assembly, through the procedures for challenging new laws and decrees, and through the availability of a range of charges to pursue alleged political misconduct. The courts offered members of the demos further opportunities to choose between competitors for influence. They also offered politicians an opportunity to restate their policies, reaffirm their credentials as loyal servants of the demos and undermine the standing of their opponents. The most dramatic example of this is Aischines' prosecution of Ktesiphon by *graphe paranomon* for proposing a decree in honour of Demosthenes. As Aischines will have predicted, Demosthenes appeared as supporting speaker for Ktesiphon. The occasion allowed both of them the opportunity to parade their policies concerning Macedon. The two had also clashed in court over a decade earlier, when Aischines prosecuted Timarchos for allegedly having prostituted himself as a young man in retaliation for a political charge brought against him by Timarchos. Accusations of homosexual prostitution seem to have been part of the standard smear tactics of Athenian politicians in forensic contexts,[16] though Aischines appears to have been unusual in actually pushing the accusation to the point of a formal trial. The trial allowed Aischines to eradicate a political opponent by having Timarchos disfranchised. But in addition he used the opportunity to send out a number of signals. To his political op-

[16] Cf. Andok.1.100, Dem.22.21ff.

ponents he issued a warning that under attack he could react with devastating effect; and he demonstrated his continuing credibility with the demos. But he also used the occasion to present his own credentials as a champion of morality and opponent of corruption and decadence. He speaks with pride in 343 of this role (2.180); it was presumably a theme to which he recurred frequently on the basis of his success against Timarchos. His speech for the prosecution of Timarchos is a masterpiece of self-presentation and smear. It locates the contest between himself and Timarchos within larger questions about decency in public life and the education of the young.[17] While attacking Timarchos, he is able to taint Demosthenes with effeminacy (1.131), pimping (1.163), passive sodomy (1.131, 181) and corruption of the youth (1.173-4). As an arena for self-presentation the courts were as important as the Assembly. In one respect indeed they were more useful: it was easier in court to devote time to extended character assassination of one's opponents.

The potential offered by the wealth of opportunities to shape public opinion was expanded further by the nature of political organization in Athens. Though there were no parties, politics was not just the Homeric dueling which appears in Thucydides. Politicians operated in groups,[18] which allowed the same message to be reiterated from different mouths on the same and separate occasions and in different public bodies.

Oratory was thus woven into the texture of Athenian political life, probably to a degree which was unusual even by Greek standards. Against this background Gorgias' celebration of the potency of oratory in his *Helen* (8-15), though reminiscent to the modern eye of the oversell of a snake-oil salesman, reflects a shared public enthusiasm for verbal skill. The importance of an ability to speak grew if anything with time; from the late fifth century onwards military prestige was no longer a prerequisite (though it remained an advantage) for political influence. The ability to command 'the stone' (Ar.*Peace* 680)

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[17] On Aischines' stance as champion of morality see N. Fisher, *Aeschines Against Timarchos*, Oxford 2001, 55ff.

[18] See especially B. Strauss, *Athens after the Peloponnesian War*, Ithaca 1996, 16ff.

on the Pnyx was enough. Hence the emergence of the term *rhetor* to designate a politically active individual; hence also the presence of rhetoricians, from Gorgias and Protagoras onward, plying their trade in Athens and the queues of customers ready to pay handsomely for a training in public speaking. As well as being the fundamental means of securing and maintaining political influence, oratory became a very flexible vehicle for shaping opinion, as the opportunities to extend the life of a speech and the potential of fiction were realized.

As was noted earlier, on occasion in the fifth century we can demonstrate the existence of tension between political ideologies. This kind of philosophical divide is one with which we are familiar in the context of struggles between political parties in the modern world. But for most of the fifth and all of the fourth century there was a consensus in favour of the democratic constitution and rarely a discernible difference among opinion formers on the practicalities of the democratic process. Politicians are perfectly ready to use the language of political ideology, particularly if it allows them to tarnish the reputation of opponents. When Aischines contrasts the good politician with the man of oligarchic tendencies (3.168-70), he is appealing to a fear of subversion which persisted, if in an attenuated form, long after the revolutions of the late fifth century. But the rhetoric derives its strength from political consensus, not from competing ideologies,[19] as does Demosthenes' attempt to present Androtion as showing the worst excesses of oligarchy (22.158). In general in democratic Athens competition related to specifics of policy rather than political philosophy.[20] However, specifics of policy can be crucial, and over the lifetime of the democracy we can detect several contexts in which major divisions emerged on issues of foreign policy and struggles to secure public opinion were waged in

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[19] Though Demosthenes sneers at Aischines' depiction of the democrat (18.122), it is the formulaic quality of his specification rather than the values underlying them which he rejects.

[20] Strauss, *Athens*, 24ff. rightly stresses the element of policy difference alongside the personalities of political competition in Athens. These differences may sometimes have been small, may occasionally have been exaggerated or even manufactured; but that is also true of modern democracies.

the Assembly and courts between different political tendencies. Intermittently we get a sense of the images, ideas and terminology used by speakers to secure public support for specific programmes.

In the late fifth century one such issue was the empire. Though those opposed to democracy might resent the power which empire (through the fleet) gave to the masses, it is difficult to find evidence in the fifth century for any large body of opposition in Athens to the existence of the empire. Speakers in Thucydides tend to agree broadly on the importance of the empire and on the motives for retaining it.[21] The line taken is one of frank and cool calculation of advantage. This is nowhere more visible than in the concept of the tyrant city, a term used by outsiders hostile to Athens (Thuc.1.122.3, 1.124.3) but appropriated by prominent Athenians, beginning (at least in Thucydides' account) with Perikles, and used to justify policies based on self-interest.[22] Equally consistent is the way in which speakers addressing the demos present their view of empire; the demos is repeatedly presented with stark (and exaggerated) choices, between extreme quietism and the empire (Thuc.2.63.2, 3.40.5, 6.18.2-3), with a strong appeal to fear in the form of the danger which would follow any reversal of imperialism. Yet behind the overt similarities there are differences within this broad policy thrust which are revealing for the dynamics of political affiliation and the nature of self-presentation. Periklean rhetoric favours firm control over the empire and a policy of avoiding expansion during the course of the war.[23] After his death, the definition of control becomes contentious. In 427 BC Kleon and Diodotos clashed on the Pnyx about the punishment of the rebel city of Mytilene. Kleon was for exemplary punishment, Diodotos for clemency. Diodotos won; but ultimately it was Kleon's view of control which prevailed, as Athenian treatment of rebel or recalcitrant cities later in the war makes clear. Where for Perikles the choice was between 'playing the gentleman' (*andragathizesthai*) and keeping the empire (Thuc.2.63.2), for Kleon

[21] See R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford 1979, ch. 21.
[22] Thuc.2.63.2, 3.37.2, 6.85.1.
[23] Thuc.1.144.1, 2.65.7.

(3.40.5) the choice is between *andragathizesthai* and ruthlessness. Likewise, after Perikles' death, we find a more aggressive approach to the size of the empire (Thucydides 2.65.7). Where Perikles argues that an imperial city can only be secure if it keeps tight hold of what it has, Alkibiades argues that security lies in continual expansion (6.18.2-3). Yet there is remarkable consistency in the language used (at least as presented by Thucydides), and in the persistence of Periklean terminology in the mouths of Perikles' successors we can both detect an element of personal propaganda beyond the specifics of policy, in the form of a bid by those wanting to be *prostates tou demou* to represent themselves as the natural heir to the role of Perikles, and an attempt (in a manner reminiscent of the political radicals of the 460s, 411 and 404) to disguise policy shift behind the language of continuity.

In the middle of the fourth century the most divisive issue was the appropriate line to take against Macedon. Here the clearest voice and most persistent message is that of Demosthenes. Though he joined the rush for peace in the early 340s (probably for pragmatic reasons), from the end of the 350s he consistently pressed for a vigorous response to Macedonian expansion. His persistent theme from the outset is of Philip as a restless and hungry power, relentlessly expanding, a threat both to Athens and the whole of Greece; interestingly his characterization both of Philip and Athens echoes the anti-Athenian propaganda of Corinth in the 430s.[24] However, in one respect Demosthenes had an advantage over Thucydides' Corinthians. Unlike Athens, Macedon was ruled by a king, and so Demosthenes is able to personalize his attacks.[25]

Since policy disputes are struggles for influence, characterization of self and caricature of opponents is important, and we find a high degree of consistency in the images presented by Athenian politicians; this is perhaps inevitable in view of the absence of competing political philosophies for much of the lifetime of the mass democracy. For oneself one claims in-

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[24] Dem.1.14-15, 2.15, 23-26, 3.33-34, 4.42, 6.3-4. Cf. Thuc.1.70. The technique of presenting one's audience as lax in the face of a military threat is one which goes back to the earliest war rhetoric; cf. Kallinos *fr.*1 W.

[25] Dem.2.6-10, 18-20, 3.17, 20, 24, 4.9-11, 37, 42, 9.31, 19.327, etc.

tegrity, as does Perikles at Thuc.2.60.5 and Demosthenes at 18.109 (cf.18.250, 19.24, 206ff.). Consistency is also a useful virtue to claim. Perikles and Kleon each present themselves as pursuing a consistent line (Thuc.1.140, 2.61.2, 3.38.1). So (before a narrower audience) does Theramenes (Xen.*Hell.* 2.3.48). Demosthenes likewise presents himself (most notably in the *De Corona*) as a consistent opponent of Macedon, quietly forgetting his support for Philokrates' attempt to secure a peace. But there is more to massaging image than positive self-presentation; the opposition must also be smeared. If the speaker is honest, his opponents are corrupt. The extreme adversarial nature of Athenian political debate had little room for the language of error. When Diodotos and Kleon struggle over the fate of Mytilene and the direction of imperial policy, each accuses the other obliquely of taking bribes (Thuc.3.38.2, 3.40.1, 3.42.2). Similarly, when Demosthenes and Aischines clash over Macedon, bad policy is attributed to corruption (e.g. Dem.6.29-34, 8.76,18.30-31 etc. 19.8, 29 etc., Aischin.3.58, 104, 143 etc.), not stupidity. Opponents can be presented as opposed to the interests, values and constitution of the city, for instance (at worst) as seeking to betray the city (Dem.18.137, cf. Aischin.3.225), as undermining the democracy (Aischin.3.6f.), as running the city like a cabal in their own private interest (Dem. 3.30-32, Aischin.3.3, 251).

In Athens as in most modern states the past is a potent force. Except in the area of intellectual discussion and debate, most private and public political discourse operates with an evolving but shared mythology or with competing mythologies[26] of collective history. Apart from the rewriting of specific historic events to influence decisions in the present,[27] po-

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[26] A good case in point is the espousal of Victorian values by the British government under Margaret Thatcher. This was not 'bogus history' (many aspects of Thatcherite policy had their origins in nineteenth century economic liberalism), but it was highly selective, in that it emphasized entrepreneurship and individualism at the expense of the equally Victorian achievements of philanthropy, industrial reform, public health and education.

[27] On the use of history in the orators see in general Nouhaud, *L'utilisation de l'histoire*. The most blatant distortions are those in Andok.3.3ff. reproduced in Aischin.3172ff.

litical self-presentation in Athens regularly involves aligning oneself with the shared political mythology of the past in order to draw on the strong emotional appeal of tradition. We find a persistent thematic convergence between the rhetoric of politicians (both in court and in the Assembly) and that of the funeral oration, the most sustained articulation of civic ideology. Thucydides at 1.144.4 represents Perikles, when addressing the Assembly before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, as appealing to the example of the ancestors in and after the Persian Wars in urging the Athenians to resist their enemies (cf. also 2.62.3). Demosthenes uses the example of the ancestors to attack the dominant political groups and to press for aid to Olynthos (3.24.6). Aischines represents the speakers arguing against Peace with Macedon as offering in essence the same appeal (2.74; cf. Dem.19.16). In these (and in many other) cases there is a marked convergence between the (at least in part) self-interested appeals by competing politicians bidding for audience goodwill and the themes of oratory offered as a collective statement of the city's sense of itself.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that all that Athenian politicians ever offered the demos was generic self-praise, smear tactics and references to ancestral achievements. We do occasionally find individuals who communicate a collective vision with such force and consistency that they acquire a distinctive place in the minds of the public. Probably the most dramatic example is Perikles. Though the final ultimatum of the Spartans before the Peloponnesian War (that Athens should set the Greeks free) was a demand Athens could not conceivably accept (since it involved dismantling the empire), the earlier demands were sufficiently specific to convince some that war could be averted by concessions. Thucydides' account in book 1 presents Perikles, the leading proponent of resisting Spartan demands (1.139-144), as offering a powerful combination of rational, moral and emotional arguments against capitulation. Perikles insists that the Athenians are in the right; he offers a thorough, careful and largely accurate prediction of the likely course of events in order to convince the Athenians of their advantageous position. We again find him attempting to reassure the Athenians as the Peloponnesian

forces assemble at the Isthmus (Thuc.2.13). He rehearses at some length the resources available to the Athenians for the war. Thucydides' adds that Perikles 'gave the same advise as before' (2.13.2) and closes his brief account with the remark: 'He also gave them other advice of the sort Perikles was in the habit of giving to demonstrate that they would win the war', locating the specific speech within a pattern of Periklean rhetoric. Later in book 2 we find Perikles playing a similar reassuring role, in the funeral oration by reminding the Athenians of why such sacrifice is fitting, and in his attempt to prevent Athenians resolve from weakening in the wake of the plague. Periklean oratory performs a function familiar from modern wars, that of maintaining morale.[28] It does so partly because of the blend of hard fact and emotion; the optimism which informs Perikles' view of Athens' prospects is always firmly grounded in a command of the detail which inspires confidence. But every bit as important is the vision he communicates of Athens as a unique culture whose protection and preservation justify every sacrifice and whose stature approaches epic proportions. For the first I cite Thucydides 2.37-38 and 40-41.1:

> [37.1] 'Χρώμεθα γὰρ πολιτείᾳ οὐ ζηλούσῃ τοὺς τῶν πέλας νόμους, παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες τισὶν ἢ μιμούμενοι ἑτέρους. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κέκληται· μέτεστι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἔν τῳ εὐδοκιμεῖ, οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλέον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται, οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πενίαν, ἔχων γέ τι ἀγαθὸν δρᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀξιώματος ἀφανείᾳ κεκώλυται. [37.2] ἐλευθέρως δὲ τά τε πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύομεν καὶ ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν, οὐ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν πέλας, εἰ καθ' ἡδονήν τι δρᾷ, ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ ἀζημίους μέν, λυπηρὰς δὲ τῇ ὄψει ἀχθηδόνας προστιθέμενοι. [37.3] ἀνεπαχθῶς δὲ τὰ ἴδια προσομιλοῦντες τὰ δημόσια διὰ δέος

[28] The obvious modern parallel which springs to mind is Churchill. The comparison conceals as much as it reveals, however. Churchill was the leader of a coalition government; Perikles had to sustain popular support for his view of Athens' prospects not only in the face of events but also against constant competition from political rivals; in Athens war intensified rather than diluting internal political rivalry.

μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν, τῶν τε αἰεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων ἀκροάσει καὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ τῶν ἀδικουμένων κεῖνται καὶ ὅσοι ἄγραφοι ὄντες αἰσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην φέρουσιν.

[38.1] Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τῇ γνώμῃἐπορισάμεθα, ἀγῶσι μέν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίοις νομίζοντες, ἰδίαις δὲ κατασκευαῖς εὐπρεπέσιν, ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν ἡ τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει. [38.2] ἐπεσέρχεται δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα, καὶ ξυμβαίνει ἡμῖν μηδὲν οἰκειοτέρᾳ τῇ ἀπολαύσει τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ γιγνόμενα καρποῦσθαι ἢ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων.

[...]

[40.1] Φιλοκαλοῦμέν τε γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας· πλούτῳ τε ἔργου μᾶλλον καιρῷ ἢ λόγου κόμπῳ χρώμεθα, καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινὶ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ διαφεύγειν ἔργῳ αἴσχιον. [40.2] ἔνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκείων ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλεια, καὶ ἑτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις τὰ πολιτικὰ μὴ ἐνδεῶς γνῶναι· μόνοι γὰρ τόν τε μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα οὐκ ἀπράγμονα, ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν, καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἤτοι κρίνομέν γε ἢ ἐνθυμούμεθα ὀρθῶς τὰ πράγματα, οὐ τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις βλάβην ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ προδιδαχθῆναι μᾶλλον λόγῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ ἃ δεῖ ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν. [40.3] διαφερόντως γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἔχομεν ὥστε τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν ἐκλογίζεσθαι· ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει. κράτιστοι δ' ἂν τὴν ψυχὴν δικαίως κριθεῖεν οἱ τά τε δεινὰ καὶ ἡδέα σαφέστατα γιγνώσκοντες καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων. [40.4] καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἐνηντιώμεθα τοῖς πολλοῖς· οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εὖ, ἀλλὰ δρῶντες κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους. βεβαιότερος δὲ ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν ὥστε ὀφειλομένην δι' εὐνοίας ᾧ δέδωκε σῴζειν· ὁ δὲ ἀντοφείλων ἀμβλύτερος, εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὀφείλημα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδώσων. [40.5] καὶ μόνοι οὐ τοῦ ξυμφέροντος μᾶλλον λογισμῷ ἢ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πιστῷ ἀδεῶς τινὰ ὠφελοῦμεν.

[41.1] Ξυνελών τε λέγω τήν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παίδευσιν εἶναι [...]'

[37.1] 'We have a constitution which does not aspire to follow the laws of our neighbours; we are ourselves a model rather than imitating others. And it is known by the name democracy because government is not confined to the few but is

more widely shared.[29] In law all have equal rights in private disputes; but when it comes to prestige, as each man is respected in some activity, he receives more honour in public affairs, not by rotation but on grounds of excellence, while as to poverty, if a man can do some good for the city, he does not find himself prevented because of the obscurity of his station. [37.2] We enjoy freedom both in our public life and as regards mutual suspicion in daily affairs; we do not get angry if our neighbour acts as he pleases, nor do we put on those resentful looks which though practically harmless are distressing to see. [37.3] We mix together without rancour in private life, and in our public life we are least prone to break the law, restrained by fear, in our obedience both to those in authority and to the laws, both the ones which have been enacted to protect victims of injustice and those which though unwritten bring unambiguous shame.

[38.1] Further, we provide plentiful means of relaxation from labour for the mind, celebrating games and sacrifices throughout the year, while the elegance of our private homes provides a daily pleasure which drives out care. [38.2] Through the greatness of our city all the produce of the whole world comes to us, so that it is actually the case that we enjoy the produce of other countries as much as those of our own.

[...]

[40.1] We combine love of what is noble with frugality and pursue wisdom without softness. We use wealth as occasion for action rather than verbal boast; as for poverty, it is no shame for a man to acknowledge it but rather not to labour to escape it. [40.2] Some are able to tend equally both to their own business and that of the city, while others, though they devote themselves to their work, have an adequate grasp of affairs of state. For we alone regard the man who plays no part in this area not as quietist but as useless. And we ourselves are able either to judge or to plan matters correctly; we do not believe that it is not debate which impedes action but rather the fail-

[29] The assertion made in passing (but not substantiated) by M. Ostwald, *From Popular Sovereignty to the Sovereignty of Law*, Berkeley 1986, 183 that the words μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν mean 'run with a view to the interests of the majority, not of the few', has been undeservedly influential. The Thucydidean parallels assembled by J. Classen, *Thukydides* vol.II[4], revised by J. Steup, Berlin 1889, 65 and restated by Harris, 'Pericles' Praise', 165, are decisive for the view that political control (or at the very least political *activity*, as suggested by A.W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* vol.II, Oxford 1956, 108) is the primary notion at work.

> ure to arrive at knowledge through reason in advance before actively embarking on the required course. [40.3] For in this to we differ from others, so that we are equally ready to act with supreme boldness and to apply reason in planning our endeavours, while for other nations ignorance adds boldness and reason brings delay. It would be right to judge those men greatest who have the clearest understanding of danger and pleasure and are not deterred from danger by this knowledge. [40.4] And in good deeds to we are the opposite of most people; for we acquire our friends not by receiving benefits but by conferring them. For the man who does the favour is a firmer friend so as to preserve the debt of gratitude owed to him through the goodwill of the recipient, while the man who owes the debt is more sluggish in the belief that his action will regarded not as a good deed but as repayment. [40.5] We alone help people with a fearlessness which is based not on calculation of advantage but on confidence in our freedom.
>
> [41.1] In sum I say that our whole city is a lesson for Greece [...]'

Although Perikles' account of Athenian institutions and culture is driven in part by the desire for a contrast with Sparta, it goes beyond this narrow framework to define what is distinctive about Athens. As always in Thucydides, it is difficult to be sure where the dramatic speaker ends and the historian begins. But we do not have to attribute every detail to Perkiles in order to grasp the distinctiveness of this approach to the task of praising the dead; we need only accept that the emphases and themes are Perikles'. In a society where reference to the achievements and values of the ancestors had a powerful claim on audience emotion, and among a population sensitized to the appeal of narrative by education in which archaic epic played a prominent part, the decision to cut short the traditional narrative of Athenian achievements (2.36.4) and devote so much space to a lengthy praise of Athenian culture was a bold move. There is no rejection of the importance of tradition — Thucydides' Perikles is as ready as other Athenian political figures to invoke ancestral example for rhetorical purposes. But unspoken behind the substitution of contemporary description for narrative of past achievements is a view of human evolution, found among fifth century rationalists, which reversed the traditional Greek nostalgia for a past Golden Age

and saw human development as progressive, culminating in the here and now. Accordingly, one is not surprised to find that the idealized portrait of Athens[30] has elements in common with descriptions of utopias found from Hesiod through Old Comedy and beyond and with idealizing descriptions such as Hesiod's just city (*Op.*225-237) and Homer's account of life under the good ruler (*Od.*19.107-114): justice (both within the state, in the collective obedience to the law, equality before the law and the appropriate recognition of individual merit, and in foreign affairs), peaceful co-existence, plenty.[31] This is not however a utopian vision; the ideal elements are tempered by the realism which acknowledges both the existence of social class and of economic inequality and the fact that this state of things was created by, and is maintained by, constant labour and sacrifice. In the context of a praise of the war dead, anything else would be dangerously fanciful. But the use of Golden Age motifs presents democratic Athens as an unparalleled social and political achievement. There is a further implied dialogue at work in the speech. In the emphasis on balance Perikles depicts a society which steers a course between extremes and in the process he tacitly answers contemporary criticisms of democracy. It is a city where individual freedom is achieved without descent into anarchy and lawlessness, contrary to the dark verbal pictures painted by elite enemies of the system. It is a city which while opening up the political process to anyone regardless of socio-economic status recognizes and rewards exceptional ability, in contrast to the indiscriminate

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[30] E.M. Harris, 'Pericles' Praise of Athenian Democracy, Thucydides 2.37.1', *HSCPh* 94, 1992, 157-167, rightly argues that Perikles in Thucydides is "no less than wholehearted" in his praise of Athenian democracy (167).

[31] The syntax of the sentence ἐπεσέρχεται δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα, §38, is particularly interesting; though stylistically it is no more than a substitute for e.g. δεχόμεθα δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα, the use of the impersonal subject (contrast the syntax of Archidamos at 1.82.2), which makes the produce itself come to Athens, draws subtly on the notion (found e.g. at Hes.*Op.*117f.; see further S.D. Olson. *Aristophanes Acharnians* (Oxford 2002), 79, 312) of the earth itself providing bounty, presenting the volume of imports as an automatic result of Athens' maritime power.

levelling depicted by critics.[32] This is also a place where reason and action cohere effectively: intellectual enquiry is pursued without effeteness, and rational debate does not impede but is seen as a necessary precondition for effective action. Inevitably, the speech overstates. Perikles exaggerates the equality of opportunity in Athens and the Athenians' tolerance of each other in private life. And the picture of Athenian altruism in foreign affairs, which owes more to the clichés of the funeral oration than Perikles' opening (2.36) acknowledges, would probably raise a wry smile in any other audience. The Athens he depicts is part aspiration and part fact. But Perikles does provide a sense of contemporary Athens as a unique moment in time. It was a vision which was calculated to inspire.

For the second feature (the heroic aspect of Athenian destiny) I cite 2.64.1-5, when Perikles is attempting to prevent the Athenians from abandoning the war in the wake of invasion and plague:

> [64.1] "Ὑμεῖς δὲ μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε πολιτῶν παράγεσθε μήτε ἐμὲ δι' ὀργῆς ἔχετε, ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ ξυνδιέγνωτε πολεμεῖν, εἰ καὶ ἐπελθόντες οἱ ἐναντίοι ἔδρασαν ἅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν μὴ ἐθελησάντων ὑμῶν ὑπακούειν, ἐπιγεγένηταί τε πέρα ὧν προσεδεχόμεθα ἡ νόσος ἥδε, πρᾶγμα μόνον δὴ τῶν πάντων ἐλπίδος κρεῖσσον γεγενημένον. καὶ δι' αὐτὴν οἶδ' ὅτι μέρος τι μᾶλλον ἔτι μισοῦμαι, οὐ δικαίως, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὅταν παρὰ λόγον τι εὖ πράξητε ἐμοὶ ἀναθήσετε. [64.2] φέρειν δὲ χρὴ τά τε δαιμόνια ἀναγκαίως τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρείως· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν ἔθει τῇδε τῇ πόλει πρότερόν τε ἦν νῦν τε μὴ ἐν ὑμῖν κωλυθῇ. [64.3] γνῶτε δὲ ὄνομα μέγιστον αὐτὴν ἔχουσαν ἐν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις διὰ τὸ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς μὴ εἴκειν, πλεῖστα δὲ σώματα καὶ πόνους ἀνηλωκέναι πολέμῳ, καὶ δύναμιν μεγίστην δὴ μέχρι τοῦδε κεκτημένην, ἧς ἐς ἀίδιον τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις, ἢν καὶ νῦν ὑπενδῶμέν ποτε (πάντα γὰρ πέφυκε καὶ ἐλασσοῦσθαι), μνήμη καταλελείψεται, Ἑλλήνων τε ὅτι Ἕλληνες πλείστων δὴ ἤρξαμεν, καὶ πολέμοις μεγίστοις ἀντέσχομεν πρός τε ξύμπαντας καὶ καθ' ἑκάστους, πόλιν τε τοῖς πᾶσιν εὐπορωτάτην καὶ μεγίστην ᾠκήσαμεν. [64.4] καίτοι ταῦτα ὁ μὲν ἀπράγμων μέμψαιτ' ἄν, ὁ δὲ δρᾶν τι καὶ αὐτὸς βουλόμενος ζηλώσει· εἰ δέ τις μὴ κέκτηται, φθονήσει. [64.5] τὸ δὲ μισεῖσθαι καὶ λυπηροὺς εἶναι ἐν τῷ παρόντι πᾶσι μὲν ὑπῆρξε δὴ ὅσοι

[32] See A.W. Gomme, A. Andrewes and K.J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* vol.V, Oxford 1981, 335.

> ἕτεροι ἑτέρων ἠξίωσαν ἄρχειν· ὅστις δὲ ἐπὶ μεγίστοις τὸ ἐπίφθονον λαμβάνει, ὀρθῶς βουλεύεται. μῖσος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέχει, ἡ δὲ παραυτίκα τε λαμπρότης καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα δόξα αἰείμνηστος καταλείπεται.
>
> [64.1] 'You must not be led astray by such citizens, nor should you be angry with me, when you all shared my decision to go to war, if as is the case the enemy attacked us and acted as one could anticipate in response to our refusal to give way and the plague has assailed us beyond what we anticipated, the only event of all of them which has exceeded our expectations. And because of the plague I am aware that I am yet still more hated, though this is not right, unless you also ascribed to me any unexpected success you enjoy. [64.2] One must bear acts of the gods with resignation and those of the enemy with courage. For this was in former times the custom in our city and it must not be ended in your time. [64.3] You must realize that the city has a supreme reputation among all mankind because it does not yield to misfortune and has expended the most lives and labour in war, and that it has acquired the greatest power to this time, a power whose eternal memory, if we suffer some reduction (for it is in the nature of all things to diminish), will remain for future generations, because we had the greatest rule of Greeks over Greeks and we held out against the greatest enemies both collectively and individually, and we lived in a city which was the most bountiful in every respect and the greatest. [64.4] And yet these are achievements a 'quietist' might criticize, but the man who wants to achieve something himself will emulate; and the man who does not possess them will envy. [64.5] Hatred and resentment in the present have always fallen to those who saw fit to rule over others; but the man who accepts this resentment for the greatest aspirations is thinking correctly. For hatred does not last long, while the immediate glory is also left behind as eternal renown in time to come.'

The appeal to the past here is simply part of the stock-in-trade of the Athenian public speaker. The grumble about the Athenian habit of putting all the blame for collective decisions on their advisers when things go wrong is familiar and deserves little sympathy; it was part of the unwritten contract between politician and public, a contract under which the politicians did extremely well in material terms and in prestige in a society which aspired to equality. What is striking is the way Perikles

looks beyond past and present achievement, power and problems to embrace the future. In a manner familiar from Homer,[33] he sees Athens from the perspective of future generations. The unprecedented scale of Athens' power, won by a commitment to action, is an inspirational exemplar whose glory will not fade. The similarity to Homer is not accidental; this was a text shared by Perikles with his audience and with us. This is an heroic vision of Athens' place in history. The speech also looks back to the aristocratic ethic of athletic competition (itself inspired by epic precedents) as expressed by Pindar, where lasting glory is the prize awaiting those who choose labour and risk over comfort and obscurity.[34]

Perikles did not invent the image of Athens he presents. A collective sense of the uniqueness of Athenian culture lies behind the elaborate arrangements to reward the dead, both with honours and with the maintenance of their orphaned children, with the advertisement of the latter at the Dionysia, and with the way in which the city appropriated the war dead in the Demosion Sema. The overt appeal to aristocratic values is in line with the Athenian sense of themselves as an elite, registered in the decree (passed at Perikles' instigation) which restricted citizen rights to those of Athenian birth on both sides.[35] Perikles' view of the empire as something both deserved and glorious is articulated in part by the Athenian envoys at Sparta (Thuc.1.73-5), who see it as a legitimate reward for Athenian valour in the past (cf. 1.144.4). The emphasis on the freedom to live one's life as one pleases is reflected in other ancient attempts to characterize democracy. It is not the individuality of his view of Athens but the unique clarity with which he articulates this vision, together with the remarkable intensity of his distillation of the collective sense of self, which gives his presentation its compelling quality.[36]

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[33] See esp. *Il.*9.410-415, *Il.*2.219, 3.287/460, 6.358, 22.305, *Od.*3.204, 8.580, 11.76, 21.255, 24.433.

[34] See esp. *Ol.*1.81-84.

[35] Cf. the appropriation of aristocratic modes of praise for the dead, ### above.

[36] Especially noteworthy is his insistence (Thuc.2.43.1) that the citizens should become *erastai* of the city; reminiscent of but conceptually far more daring than John F. Kennedy's 'Ask not what your country can do for you;

We find Demosthenes playing a somewhat similar role in the fourth century. The opponents of peace with Macedon all appealed to the shared mythology of an heroic past in the fifth century;[37] the continuing appeal of the motif can be judged from the fact that Aischines is visibly on his back foot when in response he tries to present a more complicated view of past history, one which recognizes folly and failure as well as courage and achievement.[38] But Demosthenes' rhetoric whatever his theme is marked by a sense of the unique and distinguished destiny of Athens and the τιμή to which the city is entitled and to which it should always aspire. The following passage from the *Second Philippic* (6.9-11) shows how Demosthenes gives his own twist to the clichéd but still powerful trope of the example set by the ancestors:

> [9] 'τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίους ἡγεῖτο, ὅπερ συνέβη, ἀντὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων τὰ λοιπὰ ἐάσειν ὅπως βούλεται πράττειν ἑαυτόν, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιπράξειν καὶ διακωλύσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συστρατεύσειν, ἂν αὐτοὺς κελεύῃ. καὶ νῦν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους ταὔθ' ὑπειληφὼς εὖ ποιεῖ. ὃ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· [10] κέκρισθε γὰρ ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων *μόνοι τῶν πάντων μηδενὸς ἂν κέρδους τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων προέσθαι*, μηδ' ἀνταλλάξασθαι μηδεμιᾶς χάριτος μηδ' ὠφελείας τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὔνοιαν. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκότως καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν οὕτως ὑπείληφε καὶ κατ' Ἀργείων καὶ Θηβαίων ὡς ἑτέρως, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ παρόνθ' ὁρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτων λογιζόμενος. [11] εὑρίσκει γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ ἀκούει τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους προγόνους, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρχειν ‛ Ελλήνων ὥστ' αὐτοὺς ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀνασχομένους τὸν λόγον τοῦτον [...]'
>
> [9] 'But [Philip] thought that the Thebans — as in fact happened — in return for benefits received would let him do as he pleased for the future and, so far from opposing or checking him, would even join forces with him, if he told them. Just now he is helping the Messenians and the

ask what you can do for your country' in his inaugural address. Cf. also his claim (Thuc.2.62.2) that Athens rules not just people but elements; this towering rhetoric (of a piece with the use of Golden Age motifs in the funeral oration) can owe nothing to contemporary commonplaces.

[37] Cf. Aischin.2.74.

[38] Aischin.2.171-6; hence the need to preface the argument with a sustained account of his own patriotism and courage (§§167-70).

> Argives on the same assumption. That, men of Athens, is the greatest praise he could give you. [10] For by these acts you have been judged *the only people in the whole world who would not abandon the common rights of the Greeks at any price* or trade your loyalty to Greece for any favor or advantage. And it is natural that he has formed this opinion of you and the opposite opinion of the Argives and Thebans; he is not only looking at the present, but also reasoning from the past. [11] For he discovers, I think, and hears that your ancestors, when they had the opportunity to rule the rest of Greece on condition that they served the king [of Persia], not only would not listen to this proposal [...]'

In a world in which other states implement policies whose consistency resides only in the ruthless pursuit of their own advantage, Athens steers a unique course, guided by its commitment to the collective good of Greece. This is not merely a matter of conscious principle. It is a matter of inalienable national character; the Athenians are incapable of betraying Greece. In describing the audience in this way, Demosthenes is of course engaging in a kind of persuasive definition, inviting them to deserve the terms in which he describes them. In ascribing the views to Philip, not to himself, he tacitly urges his audience not to have a lower vision of themselves than that held by their enemy. But even after the defeat at Chaironeia Demosthenes could maintain before a mass jury that *even if the outcome could have been predicted*, it would still have been right to adopt the course which the city had adopted (18.199-203):

> [199] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, βούλομαί τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. καί μου πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας ὃ λέγω θεωρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι καὶ προῄδεσαν πάντες καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ διεμαρτύρου βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς, ὃς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴπερ ἢ δόξης ἢ προγόνων ἢ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον. [200] νῦν μέν γ' ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις ὅταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε δ' ἀξιοῦσα προεστάναι τῶν ἄλλων, εἶτ' ἀποστᾶσα τούτου Φιλίππῳ, προδεδωκέναι πάντας ἂν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτ' ἀκονιτεί, περὶ ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὅντιν' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἂν σοῦ; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεώς γε,

μηδ' ἐμοῦ. [201] τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἑωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματ' εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη, ἡγεμὼν δὲ καὶ κύριος ᾑρέθη Φίλιππος ἁπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν πεποιημένοι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον ᾑρημένης. [202] τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Θηβαίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυρῶν γενομένων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμένως ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὅ τι βούλεται λαβούσῃ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐχούσῃ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν καὶ ἐᾶν ἕτερον τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι; [203] ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ' ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ἐδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πεῖσαι τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μέν, μὴ δίκαια δὲ πράττουσι προσθεμένην ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκε.

[199] 'Now since he places great emphasis on the way things have turned out, I want to say something quite surprising. And in the name of Zeus and the gods let nobody wonder at its extravagance but rather give favorable consideration to what I say. If the course of future events had been clear and everyone had known beforehand and you had predicted it, Aischines, and with yells and shouts had called on all to witness (though you uttered not a word), not even then should the city have abandoned this course of action, if it had any consideration for its reputation, its ancestors or the age to come. [200] For as things stand the city is held to have been unlucky in its endeavours, which is the common lot of human beings when the god so wills it. But the other way, if having seen fit to act as champions of the rest it had abandoned that claim to Philip, it would have been charged with betraying everyone. For if it[39] had deserted without a struggle the cause for which our ancestors endured every danger, who would not have spat upon you, to say nothing of the city and me? [201] With what expression in the name of Zeus could we have looked in the face of people coming to the city, if events have turned out as they have now, and Philip had been chosen supreme leader of all, and other people without us had undertaken the struggle to prevent this happening, all this

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[39] I take προεῖτ' in §200 as third personal singular middle, not second plural active; Athens as subject is more in keeping with the context than an apostrophe to the jurors.

> despite the fact that the city had never in former times chosen inglorious safety over danger in defence of what is noble? [202] For what Greek or what barbarian does not know that the Thebans and the Spartans who were powerful even before them and the Persian king would readily and with deep gratitude let the city have whatever she wanted and keep her own possessions in return for obeying orders and letting someone else be leader of Greece? [203] But such a course of action it seems is neither our ancestral tradition nor tolerable to us nor in our natural character, nor has anyone succeeded in all time in persuading the city to throw in its lot with those who were powerful but behaving unjustly and to play the slave; no, it has consistently throughout all time competed for pride of place, honour and renown.'

With Demosthenes (though to a much greater degree) as with Perikles there are elements of fantasy mixed with the realities of historical precedent. Again the altruistic Athens would not have been immediately recognizable to outsiders, especially to the former members of the Second Athenian Confederacy. And in the *De Corona* in particular the context inevitably makes Demosthenes' argument self-serving, since in praising the course which Athens took he is both defending his past and also protecting his future political career. But again the appeal of the image is immediately obvious. In a world of change, uncertainty and vacillation Athens is made to stand for something firm and reliable. And again, as with Perikles, the epic model lies not far below the surface. Like Homer's Achilles (*Il.*9.410-416), Athens had a choice between the quiet life without danger and the life of action; and the Athenian way is to choose the latter. Like Patroklos or Hektor, Athens owes her defeat as much to superhuman as to human action. If defeat was inevitable, it was better to have opted for action and principle. Though Aischines could rail at the outrage of allowing Demosthenes to give the funeral oration for the dead of Chaironeia (3.152), evidently the Athenians preferred Demosthenes' vision of an Athens devoted to higher things than mere survival as a Macedonian satellite.

Thus far I have been addressing communicative trends rather than examining the possible impact of individual speeches. Though one could argue that all oratory is propa-

ganda, size matters. The individual speech may affect a decision at a single moment in time. It may help to crystallize a national mood, as with Churchill's 'finest hour' speech to the British House of Commons on 18 September 1940 after Dunkirk. But a lone speech will rarely have a fundamental impact on the perceptions of its audience. Political oratory begins to approach what we would call propaganda when the individual output fits into a larger process, that is when themes and images are developed consistently or a message is promulgated on multiple occasions and/or by a plurality of persons, acting in concert or toward a shared goal. However, the insistence on trends is applicable only to live oratory. From the end of the fifth century we begin to see a change in the audience for oratory, as speeches begin to be published. Written publication fundamentally changes the communicative role of oratory, in that the act of reading replicates the moment of delivery potentially to infinity and allows the writer to address multiple audiences. The publication in written form of forensic speeches composed for real trials (as distinct from model speeches) probably begins with Antiphon.[40] Inevitably, given the role of the courts in Athenian public life, many of these were from (overtly or covertly) political trials, beginning with Antiphon 6 and including Antiphon's now lost speech in his defence against the charge of treason. It is more difficult to be sure when the practice of publishing Assembly and Boule speeches began. Though it appears that Demosthenes was the first author to publish symbouleutic speeches systematically, there is ambiguous evidence for sporadic attempts earlier. We have a speech allegedly by Lysias (Lys.34) preserved in part by Dionysios (*Lys.*32-3) which opposes a proposal by Phormisios to restrict the franchise after the fall of the Thirty. We also have a speech attributed to Andokides (And.3) which to all intents and purposes was delivered in an attempt to persuade the Assembly to ratify the terms he and his fellow-ambassadors had negotiated at Sparta in 392/1. Unfortunately there are question marks over both speeches. In the case of Lysias,

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[40] Cf. C. Carey, 'Observers of Speech and Hearers of Action', in: O. Taplin (ed.), *Literature in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, Oxford 2000, 174-198, 197.

though he accepts the authenticity of the speech, Dionysios is unsure whether it was delivered or not. In the case of Andokides doubts about authenticity have been expressed by modern scholars since the nineteenth century.[41] In my view the case against authenticity is not made; but as with Lysias one cannot be sure that the speech was actually delivered .

Although circulation in written form greatly increases the longevity of the writer's message, it would be a mistake to assimilate the effect to that of modern media. Though we have every reason to suppose that there was both a flourishing book trade in fourth century Athens and a healthy market for published speeches,[42] we have no reason to suppose the existence of a mass book market. The reading of speeches will therefore have been concentrated at the upper end of the social scale. But since this was the echelon of society whose members competed to shape opinion and policy, continued access to this audience was of benefit. This benefit however varied from case to case. Though our ignorance of the date of publication makes it difficult to detect intentions or calculate effects in most cases, sometimes we can see that publication functioned as a contribution to a continuing struggle. The clearest example of the use of published speeches as part of a competition for the ear of the demos is provided by Demosthenes and Aischines. The echoes in Demosthenes 18 and Aischines 3 of arguments used in the trial of 343[43] suggest (though they cannot prove) that Demosthenes 19 and Aischines 2 were already in circulation in the 330s. Demosthenes' use of details from Aischines' speech against Timarchos in his prosecution of Aischines in 343 may indicate that copies of the latter were in circulation by then. By the time they each published their speeches delivered at the trial of Ktesiphon the contest between them had been resolved un-

[41] See F. Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, Hildesheim 1962^2, 330-332, M.J. Edwards, *Greek Orators IV: Andocides*, Warminster 1995, 107f., E.M. Harris, 'The Authenticity of Andokides' *De Pace*: A Subversive Essay', in: P. Flensted-Jensen, T. Nielsen and L. Rubinstein (edd.), *Polis and Politics*, Copenhagen 2000, 479-505.

[42] See Dover, *Lysias and the Corpus Lysiacum*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1968, 25-26.

[43] Cf. Carey, *Aeschines*, Austin (Texas) 2000, 162.

ambiguously and finally in favour of Demosthenes. But the publication of speeches from their earlier encounters could be used to give new life to their arguments and extend the courtroom battle into a pamphlet war over policy toward Macedon. Publication of the speeches from the trial of 343 allowed both Aischines and Demosthenes to write the record in their own interests. Both had played an active part in the negotiation of peace with Macedon. Each was keen to distance himself from the disgraced Philokrates and Demosthenes in particular had every reason to present himself as the unswerving opponent of Philip.

But such publication need not always have an immediate practical end in view. Aischines had lost the political battle by the time he published the speech against Ktesiphon, so decisively indeed that he was finished as a political force. It seems at first sight surprising that he should publish a speech which had failed so spectacularly. But this is to underestimate the importance of *time* and of posthumous renown in Athenian society. The need felt by people in modern public life to ensure that the subsequent record is favorable to them was accentuated in Athens by the continuing perception of the family as a unity persisting through time rather then a succession of individuals, and by the consequent practical value in public contexts of the reputation and achievements of ancestors. Modern politicians use biography and autobiography in an attempt to write history in their favour. But biography was in its infancy and autobiography unprecedented in the fourth century. Aischines had lost. But he could still use his speech to put his case on permanent record. His consistent refusal to distance himself completely from the peace, and his tacit refusal to place any blame on Philip when prosecuting Ktesiphon indicate that Aischines genuinely believed that peace with Macedon was the best option open to Athens. From this perspective the persistent attempts by Demosthenes and others to undermine the peace were disastrous. And his own political standing had diminished as Demosthenes' had increased. It was therefore important to challenge Demosthenes' version of events. Demosthenes had his own reasons (quite apart from the brilliance of his defence speech and the desire to publicize

his success) to publish. Aischines had provided him with an opportunity to produce the nearest thing in classical Athenian literature to political memoirs. Publication also allowed him to continue his project of airbrushing out of history his role in the Peace of Philokrates. A similar desire to seize the historical high ground may lie behind Andok.3, though if so it was naïve to suppose that bogus history as blatant as this could be peddled indefinitely.

Far more divisive than the contest to answer the 'Macedonian question' was the rule of the Thirty, which literally split the city into opposing camps. Our oratorical texts attest, unsurprisingly, the usefulness of references to the oligarchic regime as a means of tarnishing opponents (as well as the value of references to Phyle to demonstrate one's own democratic credentials); they also provide examples of corresponding attempts by individuals under attack to distance themselves from the extremes of the Thirty.[44] But as well as revising their own roles in retrospect individuals and groups also sought to revise the larger record and emphasize different tendencies within the oligarchy. After the restoration we can discern a propaganda war centred on the person of Theramenes. Theramenes had been an ambiguous figure in life, even before the defeat of Athens in 404, as we know from Aristophanes.[45] He had set up then undermined the revolution of 411 and achieved the remarkable feat of surviving into the democracy as an influential figure when lesser players still laboured under formal or informal restrictions on their activities. His opposition to the worst excesses of the regime and his execution at the instigation of Kritias gave him in death something of the aura of martyrdom. So he became in death if anything more of an ambiguity than he had been in life, as suppressor and defender of freedom. Opinion was clearly divided about his character and merits, and scholarly opinion remains divided. Politicians did not invent the polarized views about

[44] The most obvious modern parallels would be the behaviour of individuals in states under Nazi occupation during the Second World War or under the European communist regimes in the second half of the twentieth century.

[45] Ar.*Frogs* 540, 967-970.

Theramenes. But they certainly exploited them, since his record as a moderate offered a rallying point for others tainted by their association with the regime. Hence we find one of the lesser lights of the Thirty, Eratosthenes, presenting himself (at least according to Lysias at 12.62) as an adherent of Theramenes. The length of Lysias' reply to this claim in his speech against Eratosthenes indicates just how powerful the appeal to his name could be. Lysias in turn seeks to present Theramenes as almost single-handedly driving forward the humiliating surrender and overthrow of the democracy. Though what survives is (one side of) a single clash, we should not see this as an isolated oratorical joust but as part of a larger debate. But apart from the pragmatic desire to advertise his skills as a logographer, publication offered Lysias a means to place his own version of events on record, irrespective of the eventual fate of Eratosthenses, of which we are ignorant.[46]

A similar recycling through publication can be seen in the case of another contentious figure from the fifth century whose reputation became a battleground, Alkibiades. And again the contest to control the account of recent history had practical and not merely a sentimental base. From the readiness of the generals to support the younger Alkibiades when he was prosecuted for military misconduct in 395 (Lys.14-15) it seems that his father's influence and connections were still strong. This presumably was a two-way trade; the son could benefit from his father's friends but these in turn could use the son as a focus for the residual goodwill felt toward the father. Inevitably therefore legal action involving the son become focused on the father, as we can see from Lys.14, Isok.16 and from fragmentary speeches surviving in the corpus Lysiacum (fr.8 Sauppe/Floristan-Imizcoz, 4 Thalheim). And these versions were given an extended life through circulation in written form. Particularly interesting is Isok.16, which is not a

[46] I have tentatively treated Lys.12 as another example of a speech written for delivery and subsequently circulated as a pamphlet. A high profile trial followed by publication — and at a date before 400 — would help to account for Lysias' rapid rise to prominence as a speechwriter. However, we cannot demonstrate that this speech was delivered. It may conceivably be a 'prosecution' written after the event, like the 'prosecution' of Sokrates by Polykrates, or even a prosecution for a fictitious trial.

complete speech but an extract created (ostensibly) by detaching from a speech for the son a digression defending the father. Unless we are dealing with an astute fiction, we appear to have a section extracted from a speech for circulation as a pamphlet by the son or his associates. That this was a fairly common practice is perhaps indicated by the attack on Theramenes in Lys.12, which is both extensive and self-contained and could easily have been detached for independent circulation.

This kind of competition to create the authoritative account can also be seen in a further extension of the practice of written publication. Thus far we have been looking at real speeches, that is at speeches which may have a fictive dimension through revision for publication but are ultimately and substantially based on what was actually said at a trial. A further step is taken when speeches are composed for fictitious occasions and circulated solely in written form or relate to real trials but are written retrospectively. The attraction of the forensic speech format for this kind of composition is obvious; it gives the work, attack or defence, a degree of immediacy, frees the writer from the constraints of propriety by offering a ready-made generic justification for *loidoria* and through the dramatic dimension added by the fiction of a legal hearing avoids the dryness of a mere recitation of alleged fact or argument. Much literature of this sort was merely written as rhetorical exercise, as presumably the accusation against Alkibiades attributed to Andokides ([Andok.]4) and ostensibly composed for the ostracism vote in 416 or thereabouts. It is sometimes difficult to determine the status of such compositions. The *Abuse of Alkibiades* attributed by Athenaios to Antiphon appears to have had the format either of a lawcourt speech or of apostrophe to the opponent within a lawcourt speech, to judge from what little survives (cf. fr.67T). Whether it is a contemporary attack, by Antiphon or someone else, or a later exercise is impossible to say. Perhaps the most significant of these fictitious debates is the trial of Sokrates, which was fought out in court by Sokrates himself and his accusers and then after his execution fought out again between surrogate accusers and posthumous logographers. We know of

Polykrates' posthumous attack Sokrates only at second hand, though the persistent tendency to treat his attack as actually delivered at Sokrates' trial suggests that he used the format of a forensic speech;[47] but posthumous defence speeches by Plato and Xenophon survive, and we know that Lysias was also credited with having written a defence of Sokrates.[48] As with the other struggles to control the posthumous reputation of individuals we have seen, there was more at work than piety among the defenders or malice among the accusers. At stake was on the one side the reputation of one who for some was the greatest man and the finest mind fifth century Athens produced, the role of the philosopher in society and the principle of free speech, on the other the reputation of Athenian democracy.

The final step is taken when speeches are composed which make no secret of their status as texts written to be read. The chief exponent of this form in the classical period is Isokrates, who is also probably the man with the most consistent political message after Perikles. Removed from the cut and thrust of real political debate and hard choices, Isokrates could compose speeches which presented an idealistic vision of Athens and of Greece. He consistently espoused a nostalgic commitment to an idealized pre-Ephialtic democracy.[49] He was equally consistent over the years in his panhellenic vision. His *Panegyricus* and *Philip*, separated by over 30 years, press the same case for

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[47] D.L.2.38, Quint.2.17.4, Thremistios 23 357 Dindorf, hypoth. Isok.11, Souda s.v. *Polykrates*. M.H. Hansen, *The Trial of Sokrates – From the Athenian Point of View* (*Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddeleser* 71), Copenhagen 1995, 8, argues for an essay rather than a speech on the basis of the anachronistic reference to the rebuilding of the walls, which Favorinus (*ap.* D.L.2.39) used as the basis for a refutation of the view that Polykrates acted as logographer for the prosecution. However, the fact that Favorinus had to resort to chronology to demolish the misconception suggests that what survived under Polykrates' name was formally indistinguishable from a forensic speech.

[48] *Frr.* 220-224S, 236-41 Floristan-Imizcoz. Though the editions list two speeches (CXII and CXIII Sauppe and Thalheim, CXX and CXXI Floristan-Imizcoz), there is no reason to suppose that there was ever more than one, a declamatio written in the form of a forensic speech in response to that of Polykrates, which in turn gave rise a myth that Lysias offered Sokrates a speech which he declined to use.

[49] Roberts, *Athens on Trial*, 66-69.

reconciliation between Greek states and a joint campaign against the common enemy, Persia. Ironically, for a man with only the most limited grasp of the realities of political life, his was the vision which was ultimately realized, both in Alexander's espousal of the invasion of the Persian Empire he had advocated to Philip and in the restriction of political participation after the loss of Athenian independence. The latter owed nothing, and the former little if anything, to Isokrates' advocacy.

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KINGS AGAINST CELTS

DELIVERANCE FROM BARBARIANS AS A THEME IN HELLENISTIC ROYAL PROPAGANDA

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Ieder nadeel heb z'n eigen voordeel,
Johan Cruijff[1]

Introduction

The Celts, Polybios says, know neither law nor order, nor do they have any culture.[2] Other Greek writers, from Aristotle to Pausanias, agreed with him: the savage Celts were closer to animals than to civilised human beings. Therefore, when the Celts invaded Greece in 280-279 BC and attacked Delphi, Greeks saw this as an attack on Hellenic civilisation. Though the crisis was soon over, the image remained of inhuman barbarians who came from the dark edge of the earth to strike without warning at the centre of civilisation. This image was then exploited in political propaganda: first by the Aitolian League in Central Greece, then by virtually all the Greek-Macedonian kingdoms of that time. The boast of having defeated Celts in

[1] Several variants of this utterance of the 'Oracle of Amsterdam' (detriment is advantageous) are current in the Dutch language; this is the original version. Cf. H. Davidse ed., *'Je moet schieten, anders kun je niet scoren'. Citaten van Johan Cruijff*, The Hague 1999, 93; for some interesting linguistic remarks on Cruijff's oracular sayings see G. Middag and K. van der Zwan, '"Utopieën wie nooit gebeuren". De taal van Johan Cruijff', *Onze Taal* 65, 1996, 275-277.

[2] Polyb.18.37.9. Greek authors use *Keltoi* and *Galatai* without any marked difference to denote these peoples, who evidently shared some common culture (e.g. *infra* Pausanias, but esp. 1.4.1; the first mention of *Keltoi* in Greek literature is in Hdt.2.33.3 and 4.49.3). I will for convenience speak of 'Celts', and of 'Galatians' only when referring to those Celts who settled in Phrygia, in the country that was subsequently named Galatia. I will not use 'Gauls'.

battle was used to propagate the notion of the king as saviour, benefactor and liberator of the Greek cities (and thus to legitimise the kingdoms' political and military dominance) to an extent that seems to leave any other royal propaganda to the same effect far behind. In my contribution to this volume I hope to explain how and why the Celts came to play such a crucial part in the ideology of Hellenistic monarchies.

Political propaganda may be simply defined as the communication of political ideology by multifarious means; in the present discussion the communication of the ideology of the Greek-Macedonian kingdoms in the third and second centuries BC. Several remarks concerning this propaganda should be made from the outset. First, that neither ideology nor propaganda was ever disconnected from genuine beliefs concerning the cultural and supernatural ordering of the world on the part of the recipients. On the contrary, the primary aim of Hellenistic royal propaganda was to convince people that the existence of kingdoms and the exercise of royal authority was in accordance with normality and for the recipients' general benefit. The central theme was the king's *prestige* in various fields, but mainly as saviour and benefactor. *Euergetes* was a secular title. *Soter* had divine and military connotations. All propaganda discussed below came into being as *ad hoc* responses to circumstances. Second, that there is no reason to question the sincerity of the abundant use of religion in political propaganda. It is surely wrong to ask where 'sincere' religious expressions ended and the 'cynical' use of religion for political aims began. Of course, religion *was* used for propaganda purposes; but that does not mean that it was used in some inappropriate or disingenuous manner. The minds of the common Greeks made no clear distinction between religion and other aspects of life, and we should not impose such a distinction in retrospect. More often than not it is impossible to tell which aspect, the religious or the political, prevailed. For instance the magnificent votive offerings to Athena Nikephoros made by King Attalos Soter after his first great triumph over the Galatians, discussed below, were both sincere thanksgivings to the goddess who had bestowed victory *and* a means to propagate the king's military exploits. Third, that honours awarded to a

king by cities and the propaganda of the king himself — another oft-made distinction in modern literature, notably in the context of ruler cult — overlapped. Civic honours reflected royal propaganda and *vice versa*. Moreover, kings could actively manipulate cities in this respect, notably through the influence of Greek royal *philoi*, who acted as intermediaries between their native cities and the royal court.[3] For instance when Antigonos II Gonatas had defeated the Celts in Battle in 276 he was honoured as *soter* by the city of Eretria in a decree proposed by Menedemos, a *philos* of Gonatas (below, n. 47). Fourth, that although there were many ways to make political propaganda — buildings and monuments, statues, epigraphy, literature, coins — the main instrument was the word of mouth. Images on coins served as reminders of propaganda messages already current rather than being themselves the carriers of such messages.

This article has a simple set-up. As the main theme is victory propaganda, military events are briefly sketched, with discussions of the accompanying propaganda integrated in the chronology. I will start with the first recorded attack of the Celts on the Greek world, the attack on Delphi in 279, and end with the last Graeco-Celtic wars in Asia Minor in the early second century BC.[4]

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[3] The workings of international *xenia* networks have been studied by G. Herman, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City*, Cambridge 1987; on 'Royal Friends' (courtiers) esp. 153-155.

[4] Comprehensive accounts of the Celtic Wars: E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique I (323-30 av. J.-C.)*, Nancy 1982²; N.G.L. Hammond and F.W. Walbank, *A History of Macedonia. III: 336-167 B.C.*, Oxford 1988. G. Nachtergael, *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sôtéria de Delphes*, Brussels 1977, is a thorough study of the Celtic invasion of Greece in 280-279 and its sources. H.D. Rankin, *Celts in the Classical World*, London and Sydney 1987, devotes one chapter to the invasion of 280-279, and one to the image of the Celts in Greek and Roman literature, and is mainly concerned with 'wie es eigentlich gewesen'. The account of the war up until 276 in W.W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, Oxford 1969², 139-166, is excellent though often tentative; see J.J. Gabbert, *Antigonos II Gonatas. A Political Biography*, London and New York 1997, 21-28, for modern adjustments of Tarn's views and new evidence. J.B. Scholten, *The Politics of Plunder. Aetolians and their* Koinon *in the Early Hellenistic Era, 279-217 B.C.*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 2000, examines *i.a.* the involvement of the Aitolians in the war of 280-179 and the consequences of the invasion for the development of the Aitolian League. On the wars in Asia Minor: F. Staehlin, *Geschichte der kleinasiatischen Galater*,

The Coming of the Celts

In 285 the Diadoch Wars seemed at last to have come to an end. King Demetrios I Poliorketes was defeated and taken prisoner by King Seleukos I Nikator. The elimination of the firebrand Demetrios ended years of turbulent warfare, which had exhausted Greece and Macedonia. In the same year another notorious troublemaker disappeared from the political scene: Pyrrhos of Epeiros was forced to come to terms with his many enemies, and returned to his mountain kingdom. For several years he kept quiet there, then embarked on his great western campaign which kept him away for another four years. King Lysimachos in the meantime became sole ruler in Macedonia and restored order there. The other great actors in the final stage of the Diadoch Wars, the aged monarchs Seleukos and Ptolemy, turned their attention mainly to domestic affairs.

Leipzig 1907, and esp. E.V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon*, Ithaca 1971[2]. Pergamene inscriptions are published in OGIS or in M. Fränkel, E. Fabricius and E. Schuchhardt (edd.), *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* (*Altertümer von Pergamon* 8), Berlin 1890, abbreviated IvP.

Our main source for the Celtic Wars in the first half of the third century BC is Pausanias, with additional information in Diodoros and Justin's epitome of Trogus. The informants of the latter two for these events include the contemporary writers Timaios (who lived in Athens during the invasion), Phylarchos and Hieronymos of Kardia, a court historian of Antigonos Gonatas. Trogus used mainly Timaios and Phylarchos, both of whom wrote from the perspective of the independent city-state; Phylarchos also survives in Plutarch's biography of Pyrrhos. Pausanias' account has some interesting aspects: his narrative of the invasion contains an elaboration of decades of political propaganda and centuries of folklore. Pausanias also equates the Celtic and Persian invasions, but he does not simply mirror Herodotos. On the various influences at work in Pausanias' account: Scholten, *Politics of Plunder*, 33 n. 11. Consistent sources for the second half of the third century are lacking, but from 220 onward relatively reliable information is provided by Polybios, with additional evidence in Livy. For the sources for the invasion of 280-279 see Nachtergael, *Les Galates*, 15-125; for the pro-Antigonid bias of Hieronymos: J. Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, Oxford 1981, 180-233; for the image of the Celts in Polybios: Rankin, *Celts*, 72-5. On the historical digressions of Pausanias in general: C. Habicht, 'Pausanias on the history of Greece', in: id., *Pausania' Guide to Ancient Greece*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1985, 95-116.

There remained, however, two threats to the status quo on the Greek mainland. First, Greece was still burdened with the presence of the virtually landless King Antigonos II Gonatas, the son and successor of Poliorketes, who was as dissatisfied with the new arrangements as he was power-hungry. Second, there was a growing rivalry between two of the last surviving friends of Alexander the Great, the old kings Lysimachos and Seleukos Nikator (Ptolemy died of old age in 282).

Neither Greeks nor Macedonians, however, seem to have been aware of a third danger, closing in on them from the north.

For more than a century the peoples of inner Europe had been on the move. Early in the fourth century migratory movements in the north had hit upon Celtic tribes living in the border regions of the Mediterranean, who in turn migrated, in search of new homelands. Roving bands in search of plunder preceded these tribes.[5] Celts from the Po Valley crossed the Apennines into peninsular Italy and sacked Rome in *c.* 385. Others slowly moved toward the Balkans, where they put pressure on the native Illyrians and Thracians. Southward migration was for a long time prevented by the Macedonian kingdom of Philip II and Alexander III, and later by the kingdoms of Kassandros and Lysimachos.[6] In the reigns of the latter two there had been sporadic border skirmishes and small raiding parties had on several occasions entered Macedonian territory.[7] The attackers were easily repulsed but they brought back valuable information.

Ptolemy Keraunos

In 281 the rivalry between Seleukos and Lysimachos culminated in a decisive trial of strength. Lysimachos, who was al-

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[5] Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, 140-143. Cf. Liv.38.16.1. M. Todd's new book on migrations in Antiquity was not available to me when writing.

[6] Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, 139. Diplomatic contacts with Celtic leaders were established as early as Alexander's reign: Arr.*Anab.*1.4; Strab.7.3.8; Ptol. *FGrH* F 2. Cf. S. Alessandri, 'Alessandro Magno e i Celti', *MH* 54, 1997, 131-157.

[7] Plin. *N.H.*31; Sen. *Quast.Nat.*3.11.3; Paus.10.19.4; cf. Polyb.2.18-13.

ready over eighty years old, attacked with all his might the forces that Seleukos had assembled in Asia Minor — a campaign that was as much a bid for empire as a necessary preemptive strike. A great battle took place at Koroupedion in which Lysimachos was defeated and slain.[8] The seventy-seven year old victor Seleukos crossed the Hellespont but he was murdered before he could fulfil his dream of winning the kingship of Macedonia, the *mutatis mutandis* first prize in Alexander's 'funeral games'. The assassin was an ambitious young prince called Ptolemaios Keraunos, King Ptolemy's prodigal son, who at that time belonged to Seleukos' entourage. Keraunos moved into Macedonia, claimed the kingship, and rallied what was left of Lysimachos' armed forces. He was instantly attacked by Antigonos Gonatas, who had nominally claimed the kingship of Macedonia some time earlier,[9] and perhaps also by troops of Seleukos' vengeful successor Antiochos I.[10] After defeating a combined Antigonid-Athenian fleet, Keraunos proceeded to gain some authority in Macedonia and Thessaly but lost Thrace to the Thracians. In southern Thessaly Gonatas retained the impregnable fortress-city Demetrias and several strategically crucial positions in Greece, including Corinth and the Piraeus.[11]

The destruction of the Macedonian army at Koroupedion and the unstable rule of Keraunos made Macedonia vulnerable, and the opportunity was not lost to the Celts.[12] At this time an estimated total of 300,000 people — men, women, and children — were on the move in the Balkans.[13] In 280 the dam burst. Three large Celtic armies simultaneously invaded Macedonian territory.[14] Keraunos self-confidently went to meet the barbarians with only a small force. He was as ignorant of the great numbers approaching him as he was ignorant

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[8] Just.17.1.7-12, 17.2.1; App.*Syr*.62, 64; Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F 5.7; Paus.1.10.4-5.

[9] Hammond and Walbank, *History of Macedonia*, 252-253.

[10] Trog.*Prol.* 17; Just.24.1.

[11] Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, 130-133.

[12] Rankin, *Celts*, 85-86; Will, *Histoire politique* I, 105-7; cf. id., 'The formation of the Hellenistic Kingdoms', *CAH* 7.1, 1984, 101-117, at 114-115.

[13] Mitchell, *Anatolia.*

[14] Paus.10.19.4.

of the Celtic way of war: the dreadful 'Celtic charge' hit Keraunos' outnumbered Macedonians like a stroke of lightning. The royal army was routed, Keraunos himself was slain. The Celts stuck his head on a spear, which they carried before them while they entered Macedonia unopposed.[15] Macedonia fell into anarchy, with a rapid succession of short-lived, unsuccessful kings in the following years.[16] Meanwhile groups of Celtic raiders terrorised the countryside and ransacked the palace at Aigai.[17] Keraunos' failure also cleared the path for a large-scale migratory movement into Thrace, where the Celtic kingdom of Tylis was founded.[18]

Invasion of Greece

With Macedonia knocked out of action, the road to Greece lay open. In the year 279 a large war party moved south via Thessaly, ravaging the countryside as it went.[19] In Central Greece armies from Boiotia, Lokris, Phokis and Aitolia assembled; also Athens and Megara, and the kings Antigonos II and Antiochos I, sent detachments.[20] After an unsuccessful attempt to stop

[15] Diod.22.3.3-4; Just.24.5.1-7; Paus.1.4.1, 1.16.2, 10.19.4; Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F 8.8. Cf. Hammond and Walbank, *History of Macedonia,* 252-3; Will, *Histoire politique* I, 105-7.

[16] Diod.22.3.4; Just.24.4-8. The most notable was King Antipatros Etesias, whose nickname refers to his reign of 45 days, equal to the period that the Etesian Wind blows. On the period of *anarchia* in Macedonia: Hammond and Walbank, *History of Macedonia,* 253-254; K. Buraselis, *Das hellenistische Makedonien und die Ägais. Forschungen zur Politik des Kassandros und der ersten drei Antigoniden im Ägäischen Meer und im Westkleinasien,* Munich 1982, 112.

[17] Hammond and Walbank, *History of Macedonia,* 477; D. Müller, s.v. 'Vergina' in: S. Lauffer (ed.), *Griechenland. Lexikon der historischen Stätten. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart,* Munich 1989, 702-703; I. Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces. Tradition and Renewal,* Aarhus 1994, 81.

[18] Just.25.1; Polyb.4.46; Liv.38.16.9. The kingdom of Tylis extorted money from Greek cities and native tribes alike, but also provided mercenaries for Macedonian kings; it survived as an independent state until *c.* 212 BC, when it was destroyed by the Thracians. Cf. Rankin, *Celts,* 189; Nachtergael, *Les Galates,* 168-169; Will, *Histoire politique* I, 106; Hammond and Walbank, *History of Macedonia,* 257.

[19] Paus.10.20.1; Just.24.6.

[20] Paus.1.4.2-3, 10.20.3. Cf. Scholten, *Politics of Plunder,* 36 n. 24. The royal troops at Thermopylai, if there were such troops at all, were token forces;

the Celts at River Sperchios the Greeks retreated to the pass of Thermopylai.[21] They held the Celtic main force at bay but could not prevent small groups from ransacking the surrounding areas. After one week news arrived that the town of Kallion in northern Aitolia had been taken by surprise and Celts were massacring its inhabitants. The Aitolians thereupon left Thermopylai. Soon the defence of the passes was given up and the Greek armies returned home to defend the territory of their respective *poleis*.[22] The Celts scattered to the east and southeast in search of plunder.[23]

One group, led by a certain 'Brennos', attacked Delphi and entered the sacred *temenos* of Apollo Pythios.[24] A force of Delphians, Phokians and Amphissians counter-attacked and prevented the Celts from doing any substantial damage. Aitolian warriors later joined the defenders of Delphi and after two days of fighting below the sanctuary the Celts were driven off.[25] Meanwhile, the Aitolian main force had crushed the attackers of Kallion and proceeded to expel the Celts from Aitolian lands. Being spearfighters and swordsmen, Celtic warriors were vulnerable to guerrilla combat, a business that the Aitolians were particularly good at.[26] Seemingly without too much trouble the Aitolians battered the invaders into retreating.

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the exact number of troops given by Pausanias — 500 men from each king — is at any rate suspect. Pausanias' account of these events is obviously an elaboration of the tradition that equated the Celtic invasion with the expedition of Xerxes, as well as of other popular tradition and (Aitolian) propaganda. Hence the granting of a central role to Athens, and the aggrandisement of the importance of Aitolia in, e.g., 10.22.2, where Pausanias states that the Celts sent a detachment into Aitolia to draw the Aitolians away from Thermopylai because 'the war against Greece would [then] be easier to manage'; cf. Scholten, *Politics of Plunder*, 32 and 34-36, who accepts this explanation and also on other grounds argues for a leading part of the Aitolian *koinon* in the mobilisation of the Greeks.

[21] Battle of Thermopylai: Rankin, *Celts*, 92-94; Scholten, *Politics of Plunder*, 31-37.

[22] Paus.10.22.2-4.

[23] *Ibid.* 10.23.1.

[24] H.W. Parke and D.E.W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, Oxford 1956, I, 254-259; Rankin, *Celts*, 94-98. In 86 BC Sulla looted the sanctuary more thoroughly.

[25] Paus1.4.4; 10.19-23; Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F 8, 11; Polyb.4.46; Diod.22.9.1-5; Just.24.7.1-8. Cf. Diod.22.3-4, 22.9; Just.25.1-2.

[26] Paus.10.22.4; cf. 10.23.7.

Other Greek states involved in the war likewise succeeded in chasing the Celts from their homesteads.[27]

The Celtic crisis was over in less than a year but it had and overwhelming impact. The news that the Delphic sanctuary had been desecrated and then saved spread like wildfire. The saving of Delphi was attributed to the intervention Apollo Pythios and Zeus Soter. Almost instantly the belief became current that Apollo had been present during the battle, aided by the mysterious White Maidens.[28] It was believed that when the Pythia was asked: 'Shall we remove the treasures, and children, and women from the Oracle?', Apollo had replied:

> Let the offerings and everything else stay where they are at the Oracle. I and the White Maidens will attend to this.[29]

And Apollo kept word, of course. His presence had been made manifest in a series of terrifying supernatural occurrences:

> Brennos and his men were faced by the Greeks and by the hostile portents of the god, which were swift and conspicuous to a degree that to my knowledge has no other instance. All the ground where the Celtic army stood quaked violently nearly all day, with continuous thundering and lightning. [...] Flashes from heaven would not only strike one man down, but set fire to other men and their shields all round him. [...] All day long the barbarians were gripped by disaster and by horror; but a much more calamitous night awaited them. A terrible frost came, and with the frost came blinding snow. Enormous rocks fell from Parnassos, and cliff-faces broke away and crashed down on them.[30]

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[27] Scholten, *Politics of Plunder*, 33 and 35.

[28] Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* I, 258; Rankin, *Celts*, 94-8.

[29] J.E. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle. Its Responses and Operations*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1978, Q231 on 344.

[30] Paus.10.23.3. When supernatural occurrences such as these, took place, the responsible god was believed to be actually present: H.S. Versnel, 'What did ancient man see when he saw a god? Some reflections on Greco-Roman epiphany', in: D. van der Plas (ed.), *Effigies Dei. Essays on the History of Religions*, Leiden 1987, 42-55. Also for the wars with the Celts in Asia Minor, some years later, several such supernatural occurrences were recorded, cf. Bevan *House of Seleucus*, I 139.

The Battle of Delphi acquired a mythology of its own. Within mere decades various other divine manifestations were added to Apollo's: epiphanies of Delphic deities, notably the *heros* Pyrrhos, but also Phylakos and Autonoos, who had earlier defended Delphi against the Persians in 480, as well as manifestations of Pan, Zeus and Artemis.[31]

Cities throughout the Greek World made thank-offerings to Apollo and Zeus and sent sacred ambassadors to Delphi. It seemed as if the saving of Delphi had delivered all the Greeks from some terrible danger. In an important contemporary source, a decree of Kos passed in 278, sacrifices were awarded to Apollo Pythios, Zeus Soter and Nike in both Delphi and Kos; the day of the sacrifice was proclaimed a sacred day to celebrate 'the safety of the Greeks and the *homonoia* of their democratic constitution'.[32] Shortly after the invasion the Delphic Amphictyony inaugurated a festival of Soteria in honour of Apollo Pythios and Zeus Soter. The Soteria Festival found wide recognition among the Greeks as a cardinal panhellenic festival.[33]

Celebrations up until this point can only reluctantly be called political propaganda. That changed, however, when the Aitolian League intensified its influence in the Delphic Amphictyony.

Aitolian Propaganda

Before the invasion the Aitolians were considered a backward and unreliable people. The slow and troublesome emergence of their league in late classical times was looked at with Argus' eyes by the 'civilised' Greeks.[34] But the events of 279 suddenly

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[31] Paus.10.23.5; Diod.22.9; Just.29.6.8. G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, Bonn 1983-1990, no. 574; *Fouilles de Delphes* III 1.483.

[32] *Syll.* 398. Cf. Nachtergael, *Les Galates*, 295-6.

[33] Nachtergael, *Les Galates*, 295; Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle* I, 259. Decrees in acceptance of the Soteria were found in Athens, Chios, Tenos and the Cyclades; a decree of Smyrna concerning the Soteria is perhaps to be associated with the later reorganisation of the festival by the Aitolian League and may be dated to *c.* 250: cf. *SEG* 34 no. 381, with literature.

[34] Scholten, *Politics of Plunder*, 1-28.

left the Aitolian League the dominant political entity in Central Greece. This was not the result of their victory over the Celts — which was not such a great feat in strictly military terms — but of the power vacuum created by the powerlessness of the Macedonian kingdom since Lysimachos' death. The Aitolians stepped into this vacuum with their successful involvement in the Celtic War. The League now rapidly expanded its influence and incorporated new states. The re-emergence of Macedonia as a major power under Gonatas after 276 (below) induced them to extend their power and consolidate their gains. The establishment of Aitolian dominance in the Amphictyonic League was a central objective in this policy.[35]

The Aitolians had already offered to Apollo Pythios some shields they had seized after the fighting around Kallion, but most spoils were hung up in the League's own central sanctuary at Thermon. Outside the Delphic Apollo Temple they had placed a statue of Aitolia, represented as a woman in arms sitting on a heap of Celtic armour. This monument commemorated not the saving of Delphi but the Aitolians' revenge for the massacre of the people of Kallion.[36] Indeed, the Aitolians' contribution to the actual saving of Apollo Pythion's sanctuary had been only a small one.[37] But soon the Aitolian leaders understood that by connecting the fundamental part they had played in the war as a whole to the saving of Delphi, they might profit from the panhellenic character that was now being attributed to that specific event. Gradually Delphi was loaded with Aitolian dedications, including statues of Apollo, Athena, Artemis and Aitolian generals. Celtic shields where

[35] For the expansion of the League after the Celtic War: Scholten, *Politics of Plunder*, 29-95.

[36] Paus.10.18.7. Cf. B. Hintzen-Bohlen, *Herrscherrepräsentation im Hellenismus. Untersuchungen zu Weihgeschenken, Stiftungen und Ehrenmonumenten in den mutterländischen Heiligtümern Delphi, Olympia, Delos und Dodona*, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna 1992, 66-67, and the literature on 210, cat. no. 14.

[37] Scholten, *Politics of Plunder*, 36 n. 36. In the Battle of Delphi there had been only a small force of Aitolians, arriving relatively late; the honour for saving Delphi goes mainly to the Phokians, who were rewarded for their bravery and heavy losses with an amphictyonic vote (Paus.10.8.3, 10.23.3).

hung up in the temple of Apollo opposite the Persian spoils dedicated by the Athenians, so that the Aitolian glory was associated with Athenian glory in the Persian Wars.[38] At the western entrance the Aitolians built a stoa filled exclusively with trophies taken from the Celts. The statue of Aitolia triumphant appeared on coins, sometimes with a small image of Nike in her hand, thus making the Aitolian victory known to all the Greeks for generations to come.[39] As a result, the League gained international prestige and acceptance, and acquired legitimisation for its preponderance in the Delphic Amphictyony. And, last but not least,, the Aitolians reorganised and thereafter dominated the Soteria Festival.[40]

Celts and the Kingship of Antigonos Gonatas

Three years after the invasion, Macedonia was still disordered. A general, Sosthenes, had succeeded in imposing some order and keeping the Celts at bay. But the land was without a king and Sosthenes himself declined the honour; he died in battle, probably in 276.[41] Sosthenes' death created yet another power vacuum. In the early summer of 276, Antigonos Gonatas left Demetrias to try his luck in the north.[42] By chance, the landing of his mercenary army in the Thracian Chersonese coincided with the southward march of a Celtic army. Gonatas lost no time in seizing the opportunity. Near Lysimacheia he ambushed and massacred the Celts.[43] The victory boosted Gonatas' prestige in a way he could not have foreseen but knew very well how to exploit. It took only months to get Gonatas,

[38] Paus.10.19.4.

[39] These were probably the first issues of the Aitolian League; individual Aitolian towns did not strike coins: B.B. Head, *Historia Nummorum*, Oxford 1911, 334-335.

[40] Aitolians in Delphi: R. Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens à Delphes. Contribution de la Grèce centrale au IIIe siècle av. J.-C.*, diss. Paris 1937. For a detailed account of Aitolian dedications in Delphi as known from archaeological and written sources see Hintzen-Bohlen, *Herrscherrepräsentation*, 61-67.

[41] Just.24.5.

[42] Buraselis, *Das hellenistische Makedonien*, 112-113.

[43] Just.25.1.2-10; Diog.Laert.2.141. Cf. Gabbert, *Antigonos II Gonatas*, 26-27.

the vanquisher of the barbarians, recognised as king throughout Macedonia.[44] The next year, Gonatas defeated whatever claimants to the throne there were left, pacified Thessaly and Chalkidike, and remained in control for the following 35 years.[45]

Gonatas' position was similar to that of the Aitolian League in 279: an outsider who had suddenly risen to power and needed acceptance and legitimacy urgently. Soon the word spread that during the Battle of Lysimacheia Gonatas had been aided by Pan, who had struck the barbarians with panic. A cult of Pan was established in Pella and the god appeared on Gonatas' coins to promote his victory.[46] Gonatas rebuilt the palace at Aigai, which the Celts had destroyed in 280. In the cities of Greece he was honoured as the saviour of the Greeks; presumably, the king actively sought after these honours with the help of his family's *xenia* relations.[47]

Pyrrhos Returns

From this moment on, victory over Celts became a pivotal element in royal propaganda. Gonatas was the first in a series of rulers who were honoured as *soteres* because they had delivered the Greeks from the barbarians. By this time, too, Celts turned up as mercenaries and allies in virtually all royal armies.

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[44] Will, *Histoire politique* I, 108-109; Hammond and Walbank, *History of Macedonia*, 257-258.

[45] *Ibid.* 110.

[46] P. Green, *Alexander to Actium. The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1990, 134, n. 139.

[47] In Eretria the philosopher and politician Menedemos, a *philos* of Gonatas, proposed a decree honouring the king as saviour of the Greeks: Diog.Laert.2.136. At this time too the Athenians voted a decree in honour of their fellow-townsman Herakleitos son of Asklepiades, another *philos* of Gonatas and military governor of the Piraeus (*Syll.*454), for his actions 'against the barbarians on behalf of Greek safety [...] and his friendship and benefactions toward King Antigonos and the *boule* and *demos* of Athens' (*IG* II 677, l. 6; cf. 683). The edict can be dated to *c.* 276; presumably it refers to the involvement of an Athenian fleet in Gonatas' landing operations in the Chersonese; for a different explanation see Gabbert, *Antigonos II Gonatas*, 27; for the date see Green, *Alexander to Actium*, 145 n. 44.

In 275 Pyrrhos returned from Italy. In the spring of the following year he raided Macedonia together with a band of Celts.[48] When he accidentally came upon Gonatas and his army he made a surprise attack on Gonatas' rear, which was guarded by Celtic troops. The Celts' defence broke and Gonatas' undeployed phalanx had no choice but to surrender.[49] Though Celts constituted only a small part of Gonatas' total force, Pyrrhos was well aware that the defeat of these barbarians, as Plutarch says, 'added more to his reputation than anything else he had done'. Pyrrhos therefore propagated the battle as 'the greatest victory he had ever won'.[50] The round Macedonian shields he had captured on that day were dedicated to Zeus of Dodona in Pyrrhos' homeland; the long shields taken from the Celts, however, were shown to the world more conspicuously in the sanctuary of the Thessalian deity Athena Itonis, located along the main artery connecting Greece and Macedonia, between Pherai and Larisa. The epigram inscribed above the trophies became famous among the Greeks:

> These shields, now dedicated to Athena Itonis, Pyrrhos the Molossian took from the fearless Celts when he defeated the entire army of Antigonos; that was not so strange: the sons of Aiakos are, and always have been, valiant spear-fighters.[51]

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[48] Plut.*Pyrrh.* 26.2.

[49] Just.25.3.1-5; Paus.1.13.2; Plut.*Pyrrh.* 26.3-4. Cf. P. Levèque, *Pyrrhos*, Paris 1957, 557.

[50] Plut.*Pyrrh.* 26.5; cf. Paus.1.13.2. Later Gonatas himself acted similarly when in 264, during the Chremonidean War, his own Celtic mercenaries revolted in Megara; the king came in person to suppress the revolt, bringing all his elephants, even though at that time he was besieging Athens: Polyaen.4.6.3; Trogus, *Prol.* 26. Cf. Gabbert, *Antigonos II Gonatas*, 47-8.

[51] Plut.*Pyrrh.* 26.5; cf. Paus.1.13.2. Aiakos is the ancestor of the *heros* Pyrrhos-Neoptolemos, Achilles' son, who was the founder of Pyrrhos' dynasty. After the battle King Pyrrhos became master of Macedonia and Thessaly, but only briefly as he was killed in 272. When Celtic mercenaries in his service desecrated the royal tombs at Aigai in 274, Pyrrhos' reputation was badly damaged (Plut.*Pyrrh.* 26.6-7). In the epigram inscribed above the Macedonian armour displayed at Dodona, Pyrrhos posed as liberator of the Greeks from Macedonian oppression: 'This metal destroyed Asia, rich in gold. This metal made slaves out of the Greeks. This metal is lying fatherless by the pillars of Zeus of the Water-streams, the spoil of proud-voiced Macedonia' (Paus.1.13.2; transl. P. Levi 1971).

To commemorate his victory Pyrrhos the barbarianslayer issued gold staters with the image of a winged Nike bearing Celtic shields and a helmet in one hand, and a victory laurel in the other; beneath the figure of the goddess was the six ray fulmen of Zeus of Dodona.[52] Moreover, Pyrrhos may have been the benefactor behind the sudden revival of the cult of his mythical ancestor and namesake, the heros Pyrrhos (Neoptolemos) at Delphi. Pausanias says that this ancient Delphic cult had been half forgotten before the attack of the Celts. Indeed, Pyrrhos-Neoptolemos had been conspicuously absent from the saving of Delphi in 480, when Xerxes' Persians attacked. But now the heros was the most important of the demigods who fought alongside the defenders of Delphi against the Celts. The cult was revived and an annual celebration was established or re-established at his heroon.[53]

Elephants against Barbarians: Seleukid Propaganda

Meanwhile the focus of the war had shifted to the east. For some years the Northern League, a federation of Hellespontine cities, had prevented the Celts of Thrace from crossing into Asia Minor.[54] In *c.* 277, however, King Nikomedes I of Bithynia recruited some Celtic leaders as allies in his war against his brother Zipoetes, who in turn was allied with the Seleukid king Antiochos I. With the help of Nikomedes three

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[52] A.N. Oikonomides, 'The portrait of Pyrrhos King of Epirus in Hellenistic and Roman art', *AW* 8.1-2, 1983, 67-72. Cf. A.J. Jansen, *Het antieke tropaion*, Brussels 1957, 126-127, who states that Pyrrhos' use of the emblem of *Nike Tropaiophoros* was a innovation.

[53] Paus. 1.4.4 and 10.24.5. Cf. Hintzen-Bohlen, *Herrscherrepräsentation*, 74, who expresses amazement at the lack of dedications made by Pyrrhos to Apollo Pythios, especially so since the Aitolians were his allies. On the history and importance of the cult of Pyrrhos: J. Defradas, *Les thèmes de la propagande delphique*, diss. Paris 1954; 2nd rev. ed. 1972, 146-156 and J.E. Fontenrose, *The Cult and Myth of Pyrros at Delphi*, Berkeley 1960. Generally on the cults of Delphi: G. Roux, *Delphes. Son oracle et ses dieux*, Paris 1976.

[54] On the Northern League: Will, *Histoire politique*, I 138-9; C. Préaux, *Le monde hellénistique. La Grèce et l'Orient (323-146 av. J.C.)*, Paris 1978, 138. The Hellespontine *koinon* had been founded in 281 to keep the Seleukids away after the defeat of Lysimachos; it principal members were Byzantion, Herakleia and Kalchedon.

Celtic tribes crossed the straits, totalling, we are told, 20,000 people, half of whom were non-combatants.[55] Soon north-western Asia Minor was in turmoil. Celtic war bands spread terror in Mysia, Lydia and Bithynia and Nikomedes proved unable to control his allies.[56] King Antiochos I was suppressing revolts in Syria and could not come to the rescue of the Greeks. Several cities, including Pergamon under the dynast Philetairos, a Macedonian, resisted with the help of Seleukid provincial forces for about two years.[57] Then the Seleukid king crossed the Taurus with his main force and after a brief campaign routed the Celts in the so-called Battle of the Elephants in *c.* 275.[58] The Celts, however, were neither subdued nor expelled. They retreated into Phrygia and settled in the country later known as Galatia.[59] They remained a threat to Seleukid Asia Minor —extorting money from cities and even the king[60]—and provided a source of terrific mercenaries for

[55] Liv.38.16.9; cf. Paus.10.23.14.

[56] Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F 11.1-7; Paus.1.4.5, 10.23.14; Liv.38.16; Strabo 12.5.1; Just.25.2.8-11. Cf. Will, *Histoire politique* I, 142-4. On the treaty see H.H. Schmidt, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* III, Stuttgart 1969, no. 469. For a detailed account of these events see M. Launey, 'Un épisode oublié de l'invasion galate en Asie Mineur', *RÉA* 46, 1944, 217-234. The Celts defeated by Antigonos Gonatas near Lysimacheia may have been on there way to Asia Minor.

[57] Cf. OGIS no. 765, a lengthy inscription from Priene honouring a citizen for his part in the organisation of the city's defence.

[58] Lucian, *Zeuxis* 8-11; App.*Syr*.65. On the Seleukid-Celtic war in general: E.R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus* I, London 1902, 142-144; A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White, *From Samarkhand to Sardis. A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire*, London 1993, 32-34. Battle of the Elephants: B. Bar-Kochva, 'On the Sources and Chronology of Antiochus I's Battle Against the Galatians,' *PCPhS* 199, 1973, 1-8; M. Wörrle, 'Antiochos I., Achaios der Ältere und die Galater,' *Chiron* 5, 1975, 59-87. According to the tradition recorded by Lucian in *Zeuxis*, Antiochos was outnumbered ten to one (Lucian gives the Celtic army an incredible strength of 20,000 cavalry and even more infantry), but the Celts panicked when they saw Antiochos' elephants. Seleukid royal armies in major campaigns numbered on average always more than 50,000 men (Diod.20.113.4; Plut.*Demetr*.28.3; Polyb.5.80.3-13, 30.25; Liv.35.43.4, 37.40.1-14); given that the king brought his war elephants with him, he presumably came with his main force and the Celts were probably outnumbered. On Seleucid military power: B. Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army. Organisation and Tactics in the Great Campaigns*, Cambridge 1976.

[59] Paus.1.4.5; Strabo 12.5.1; Memnon *FHG* III 535-6. Cf. Nachtergael, *Les Galates*, 166-167; Préaux, *Le monde hellénistique*, 139; Rankin, *Celts*, 188-207.

[60] Liv.38.16.13.

the Seleukid kings' antagonists as well as for the kings themselves.[61] Eventually, the Anatolian Celts became so hellenised that they were known as *Hellenogalatai* in the first century BC.[62]

Like Gonatas, Antiochos I made the most out of his victory. He used it to legitimise his kingship, and took the title of Soter, apparently in a ritual on the battlefield in which he was crowned victor by his troops.[63] In the royal city Seleukeia, where Antiochos had buried his deified father Seleukos Nikator, he established a cult of Apollo Soter.[64] We further know that the Seleukid court poet Simonides of Magnesia celebrated the Battle of the Elephants in a famous epic.[65]

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[61] Cf. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus* I, 140: "It was not as a new state but as a great mass of mercenary soldiers encamped in the land that the Galatians — selling themselves now to one employer, now to another, one part of them to the Seleukid king, another to the King's enemies — kept all the conflicting powers in Asia Minor in unstable balance and prevented the establishment of a single supreme lord."

[62] Pos. *ap.* Diod.5.32-3; Just.26.2. Cf. Liv.38.17; Strabo 13.4.2. On the settlement of the Celts in Galatia: S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor. I: The Celts in Anatolia and the Impact of Roman Rule*, Oxford 1993; P. Moraux, 'l'Etablissement des Galates en Asie Mineure', *Istanb.Mitt.* 1957, 56-75.

[63] App.*Syr.* 65; Lucian, *Zeuxis* 9.

[64] *CIG* 4458. More commonly, Zeus Soter was associated with victory over the Celts, but by adding the epithet to Apollo, the official ancestor of the Seleukid royal house, Antiochos stressed his own reputation as saviour; perhaps it was also meant to cause an association with the Celtic attack on Delphi. Wishing to create a dynastic ideology and stress his divine origin, Antiochos promoted the cult of Apollo throughout his empire and replaced Zeus with Apollo on the obverse of Seleukid coins: Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 28, cf. 34, and Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 143.

[65] Suda s.v. 'Simonides'. To be sure, several Greek poets of the period composed epic poems called *Galatika*, of which pieces remain, cf. Rankin, *Celts*, 99. A terracotta from Bura in Achaea, depicting a of a war elephant trampling a Celtic warrior underfoot may refer to Antiochos' victory: S. Reinach and E. Pottier, 'Éléphant foulant aux pieds un Galate', *BCH* 9, 1885, 485-493.

The Greek Image of the Celts

The most splendid 'Celtic propaganda' was yet to come: that of the Attalid kings in Pergamon. The propaganda encountered thus far presented mainly an image of the civilised world of the poleis being threatened by barbarians and then saved: first by gods with human aid, later by kings with divine aid.

Why did the Greeks look upon the Celts as the typical barbarian enemies of civilisation? This view became current epsecially in the early Hellenistic age. In the present context this was first and for all because the Celts were uncivilised according to Greek standards, and because they actually did attack the heart of Greek civilisation. But there was more. The Celts were barbarians from the western edge of the earth, a dark and cold land. They were opposite the Persians on the scale of barbarism. The Persians — the typical barbarians of the classical period — were judged uncivilised because they were overcivilised, that is, decadent, servile, voluptuous, et cetera. The Celts, however, were savages: ferocious beasts who were accused of cannibalism, necrophilia and other unnatural behaviour.[66] The Hellenistic writer Poseidonios says about the northwestern Celts that 'they consider it honourable to eat their dead fathers and to openly have intercourse, not only with unrelated women, but with their mothers and sisters as

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[66] The Greek (and Roman) view of Celts has been examined extensively in the past decades, notably, but not exclusively, in the context of the debate on 'alterity'. On ancient views of Celts as barbarians: Y.A. Dauge, *Le barbare. Recherches sur la conception romaine de la barbare et de la civilisation*, Brussels 1981; B. Kremer, *Das Bild der Kelten bis in der augusteischen Zeit. Studien zur Instrumentalisierung eines antiken Feindbildes bei griechischen und römischen Autoren*, Stuttgart 1994. The only comprehensive study of the image of barbarians in Hellenistic thought is C. Lacey, *The Greek view of Barbarians in the Hellenistic age*, diss. Boulder 1976; Lacey argues that in late classical and early Hellenistic times the Persians, the traditional barbarians *par excellence,* were no longer feared and loathed but became subject to curiosity and finally found some sort of acceptance as co-inhabitants of an expanded Greek world, a world that now covered the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East; the 'new barbarians' came from beyond the boundaries of this world. For the most recent archaeological appraoches to the *historical* Celts in Europe in this period see now M. Diepeveen-Jansen, *People, Ideas and Goods. New Perspectives on Celtic 'Barbarians' in Western and Central Europe (500-250 BC)*, Amsterdam 2001.

well.'[67] Pausanias describes the atrocities committed by the Celts during the sack of Kallion as 'the most horrifying evil I have ever heard of, not like the crimes of human beings at all.'

> They butchered every human male of that entire people, the old men as well as the children who were still at the breast; and the Celts drank the blood and ate the flesh of those of the slaughtered babies that were fattest with milk. Any woman and mature virgin with a spark of pride killed themselves as soon as the city fell; those who lived were subjected with wanton violence to every form of outrage by men as remote from mercy as they were remote from love: they mated with the dying; they mated with the already dead.[68]

The Celts were feared because they themselves feared nothing. But Celtic fearlessness had nothing to do with courageousness: it was based on *thymos*, the irrational absence of fear caused by lack of self-control.[69] In relation to the invasion of 279 Pausanias describes the irrational and inhuman Celtic way of fighting:

> They rushed at their adversaries like wild beasts, full of rage and passion, with no kind of reasoning at all. [...] The blind fury never left them while there was breath in their bodies; even with arrows and javelins sticking through them they were carried on by sheer spirit while their life lasted. Some of them even pulled the spears they were hit by out of their wounds and threw or stabbed with them.[70]

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[67] Poseidonios *ap*. Diod.5.32-3 and Strab.4.43. Cf. P. Freeman, *Ireland and the Classical World*, Austin 2001, 46.

[68] Paus.10.22.2, transl. P. Levi. In western Asia Minor an entire genre of folktale sprang up in which virgins preferred death to capture by Celts; all instances are conveniently summed up by Bevan, *The House of Seleucus* I, 139.

[69] Arist.*Eth.Nic.*3.5b28: 'Anybody would be mad or completely bereft of sensibility if he feared nothing, neither earthquake nor wave of the sea, as they say of the Celts'; cf. Rankin, *Celts*, 55-6. The classic text is Arr.*Anab.*1.4: 'Alexander asked the Celtic envoys what they were most afraid of in this world, hoping that his glorious name was known as far as their lands, or even further, and that they would answer: "You, my lord!" However, he was disappointed [...] for the Celts replied that their worst fear was that the sky might fall on their heads.'

[70] Paus.10.21.2. Cf. Poseidonios *ap*. Ath.154c; Liv.38.17; Polyb.2.19.4, 11.3.1.

Civilised soldiers, however, could handle such charges. This is clearly expressed by Livy, in a speech by the consul Manlius Vulso on the eve of his victory against the Galatians in 189:

> Soldiers! I am not blind to the fact that of all the peoples of Asia the Celts have the highest reputation for war. [...] Their tall bodies, their flowing red hair, their gigantic shields and long swords, together with their howling as they go into battle, their shouts and leapings and the fearful din of arms as they batter their shields. [...] [But] if you hold your ground during the first charge, into which they hurl themselves with blazing passion and blind rage, their limbs will grow slack with sweat and weariness, and their weapons waver in their hands [...] so that you will not even need to raise your weapons against them.[71]

The Celts' blind rage bordered on insanity. On several occasions the Celts were defeated in battle because they 'panicked' and went mad. Notably at the conclusion of the Battle for Delphi the Celts, as Pausanias writes, 'were seized by the terror of Pan':

> The upheaval among the warriors broke out at nightfall; at first only a few were driven out of their minds [...] [but] it was not long before madness seized the whole force. They grabbed their weapons and killed one another, without recognising their own language or familiar faces or even the shape of their shields [...] and this madness from the god brought on a mutual massacre of the Celts on a vast scale.[72]

To sum up: Celts were formidable enemies in war but also cultural antagonists of the civilised Greeks. They were bloodthirsty savages from the barbarous world border who threat-

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[71] Liv. 38.17. Cf. Diod.5.28: 'the Gauls are tall in body, with rippling muscles. [...] they are always washing their hair in limewater an pull it back from the forehead [...] so that they look like Satyrs and Pans; the treatment of their hair makes it so heavy that it looks like the mane of a horse.' On Celtic warfare in the Hellenistic period see P. Connolly, *Greece and Rome at War*, London 1981, 113-126. On Manlius' campaign: Hansen, *Attalids*, 88-92.

[72] Paus.10.23.5. The other instances are the Battle of Lysimacheia and the Battle of the Elephants. In Asia Minor it was told that the river-god Marsyas had flooded against the Celts; the Celts panicked while the air was filled with a mysterious flute sound: Bevan, *The House of Seleucus* I, 139.

ened to destroy the ordered world of the *poleis*. Because of their irrationality they feared nothing. This is why they were often compared to mythical representations of chaos and anti-culture such as Cyclops and Laestrygonians[73] but notably Titans and Giants.

Attalos of Pergamon Saves Asia

The first known instance of Celts being associated with Titans is in a piece of Ptolemaic propaganda: Kallimachos' Hymn to Delos, dated to 271-265[74] and dedicated to Ptolemy II Philadelphos. In this poem the victory of Apollo at Delphi is equated with the Ptolemaic king's suppression of a mutiny of his own Celtic mercenaries in Egypt between 274 and 271. Speaking from his mother's womb the yet unborn Apollo first calls 'future Ptolemy' his equal and then prophecies that:

> A time will come when both he and I shall fight the same battle, when against the Greeks a barbaric sword is raised, a Celtic Ares, the Titans of a later age, who will rush upon us from the uttermost west like snow, as numerous as the stars when at their thickest they pasture the sky.[75]

In an oracle of Zeus of Dodona, transmitted by the soothsayer Phaennis, yet another king was destined to become the saviour of the Greeks from the Celtic threat:[76]

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[73] Paus.10.22.4.

[74] W.H. Mineur, *Callimachus* Hymn to Delos. *Introduction and Commentary*, Leiden 1984, 10-18.

[75] Call.*Hymn to Delos*, 171-90. Cf. Paus.1.7.2.

[76] Philadelphos himself did not bear the epithet of Soter but the *Hymn to Delos* calls him instead the son of the 'sublime lineage of the Saviour', *i.e.* of his father Ptolemy I Soter, for whom Philadelphos had set up a cult as Saviour God in 279. Ptolemy I had perhaps first received the title of *soter* from the Rhodians in 304 (Diod.20.100; Paus.1.8.6) but see the objections of R.A. Hazzard, 'Did Ptolemy I get his surname from the Rhodians?', *ZPE* 93, 1992, 52-6. On the deification of the early Ptolemies: G. Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (transl. T. Saavedra), London and New York 2001, 90-97; H. Melaerts (ed.), *Le culte du souverain dans l'Égypte ptolémaique au IIIe siècle avant notre ère,* Louvainn 1998; R.A. Hazzard, *Imagination of a Monarchy: Studies in Ptolemaic Propaganda,* Toronto, Buffalo and London 2000.

> Behold! The murderous Celtic hordes are at the Hellespont, striding down the hollow roads, crying out for battle and the destruction of Asia. Any day now the god will bring great terror to you who live beside the beaches of the sea. But Zeus shall give you a ready ally: the beloved son of the god-nourished bull shall one day destroy the Celtic nation.[77]

The 'son of the bull' is the Pergamene king Attalos I Soter (ruled as king 241-197). The poem is a reflection or product of his propaganda.

By the time Attalos I came to power as dynast of Pergamon under Seleukid suzerainty, in 241, the Celts were firmly settled in central Anatolia. Although there certainly was more to the culture of the Galatians than fighting and plundering alone, the Greeks of Asia knew and feared them because they extorted money from cities, looted decent peoples' property, and carried off hostages.[78] In 238 or 237 Attalos spread the word that he would no longer pay the barbarians their danegeld, thus provoking an attack on Pergamene territory.[79] A Celtic host moved westward but the army of Pergamon awaited them in the mountain pass between the Makestos Valley and the Kaikos Valley. At the source of the river Kaikos, near the modern town of Gelenbe, the Celts were ambushed and annihilated.[80] Because of this triumph, Attalos added to his

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[77] Paus.10.15.2; cf. Suda s.v. 'Attalos'. Pausanias asserts that the prophecy was made one generation before the Celts invaded Asia Minor in 277, but in 10.12.5 states that Phaennis was born around 280, making her a contemporary of King Attalos

[78] OGIS no. 765; Liv.38.16.13. Cf. Préaux, *Le monde hellénistique*, 138-9. A royal letter to Erythrai (dated to the reign of Antiochos II 261-246) mentions a 'Galatian tax' (*galatikon*), perhaps imposed to meet the cost of war against the Celts, perhaps to buy them off: C.B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Age*, New Haven 1934, no. 15, lines 27-8. The Macedonian, Greek and Iranian rulers who fought each other in Asia Minor paid or otherwise induced the Celts to terrorise their neighbours, cf. Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 34.

[79] Liv.38.16.13.

[80] Polyaenus 4.20; Frontin.*Strat.*2.13.1. For the date see Will, *Histoire politique* I, 266-267. In the summer of 334 Alexander followed the same route after the Battle of the Granikos: A.B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire. The Reign of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1993^2, 44 with n. 56. On Attalos' Celtic War in general: Hansen, *Attalids*, 28-33.

name the titles of King and Saviour.[81] The victory legitimised not only Attalos' taking of the diadem — probably on the battlefield — and abjuration of his overlord Seleukos II, it also gave him enough prestige to take the place of the mighty but distant Seleukids as the dominant power in western Asia Minor, with the responsibility to protect the cities there.[82] The cities in the region soon honoured him as the common saviour and benefactor of the Greeks.[83] In Pergamon itself altars were erected to 'King Attalos the Saviour'.[84] Between 238 and 228 Attalos also fought successful campaigns against the Seleukid ruler in Asia Minor, Antiochos Hierax, and his allies the Galatians, and achieved at least one other major victory.[85]

Though his most formidable adversaries were the Seleukids, in his propaganda Attalos brought his victories over the Celts to the fore. Attalos credited his adoptive father, the dynast Philetairos, with the honour of having driven the Galatians from western Asia to Phrygia in 275, instead of Antiochos Soter. This he made especially clear on his coins. On Pergamene tetradrachmes now appeared, instead of the Seleukid king, the head of Philetairos, who was awarded a victory wreath and, with retrospective effect, a diadem; on the reverse a seated Athena Nikephoros held a victory wreath above the letters of Philetairos' name.[86] The coinage with the

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[81] Paus.1.8.2, cf. 1.25.2; Polyb.18.41.7-8; Strab.13.4.1-2. According to Suda s.v. 'Nikandros', Attalos became also known by the name of Galatonikes. Cf. R.E. Allen, *The Attalid Kingdom. A Constitutional History*, Oxford 1983, 31 and Appendix II, 195-199.

[82] Attalos profited from the so-called War of the Brothers between Seleukos I and Antiochos Hierax (239-236) which had paralysed the power of the Seleukid king in Asia Minor: less than two years before the Battle of the Kaikos, Seleukos had been expelled from Asia Minor by Hierax.

[83] For a discussion of the evidence for Greek honours for the Attalids: Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 145-58.

[84] Hansen, *Attalids*, 31 with n. 27.

[85] *Ibid.* 38-45.

[86] H. von Fritze, *Die Münzen von Pergamon*, Berlin 1910, and H.D. Schultz 'The coinage of Pergamon until the end of the Attalid Dynasty', in: R. Dreyfus and E. Schraudolf (edd.), *The Telephos Frieze From the Great Altar* II, San Francisco 1997; cf. O. Mørkholm, 'Some Pergamene coins in Copenhagen', in: A. Houghton *et al.* (edd.), *Studies in Honour of L. Mildenberg*, Wetteren 1984, 188. A festival of *Philetaireia* celebrated in Kyzikos was perhaps a reward for Philetairos' support against the Celts: *CIG* 3660.

diademed Philetairos — the founder of the dynasty was depicted on issues of all later Attalid kings, who never put their own portraits on coins — marked the *de iure* secession of Pergamon from the Seleukid Empire.

The image of the king as saviour from barbarians became a recurrent, central theme in the propaganda of the Attalid dynasty for nearly a century, as it was systematically continued and elaborated under Attalos' successors Eumenes II and Attalos II. It is striking that Attalid military successes against the Seleukids, the political and military consequences of which were more far-reaching, did not receive half as much attention in their propaganda.

Building Activities of Attalos Soter

Attalos I began the building progams that would eventually turn the Pergamene acropolis into a shrine for the cult of victory and kingship, with the Great Altar as its greatest monument. The ideological foundations for this were laid shortly after the Kaikos victory. The cult of Athena Polias — the main deity in Pergamon whose sanctuary was on the acropolis — was transformed into a cult of Athena Nikephoros, and to the cult of Zeus on the agora a cult of Zeus Soter was added.[87] In traditional religion Zeus was the saviour *par excellence* and a bestower of victory if ever there was one.[88] The warrior goddess Athena, Zeus' principal daughter, was a bestower of victory too. In Hellenistic thought Zeus furthermore had become the embodiment of cosmic order, a celestial king who

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87 Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 121-122; Hansen, *Attalids*, 440, 447-450. Zeus and Athena were the two principal deities in the city. On the cults of Pergamon: Hansen, *Attalids*, 440-443; Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 121-129.

88 W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*. Translated from the German by J. Raffan, Cambridge (Mass.) 1985, 128. Athena and Zeus were the deities most associated with the goddess Nike; in Classical times the two were closely connected with each other, as apparent from e.g. instances of joint worship and the sharing of temples, and their having cult epithets in common; on the close relationship of Zeus and Athena in classical Athens see J. Neils, 'Athena, Alter ego of Zeus', in: S. Deacy, and A. Villing (edd.), *Athena in the Classical World*, Leiden 2001, 219-232, esp. 224-226.

was a model for royal power. Meanwhile, the man Attalos had been transformed into *king* Attalos the Saviour. From this moment on Attalid propaganda would find its inspiration from this divine triad of Athena, Zeus and the King.[89]

Although his son Eumenes undertook the greatest building projects, Attalos I took the first steps. During his reign the precinct of the Athena sanctuary on the acropolis — where the spoils from the Kaikos victory had been consecrated — was gradually filled with splendid votive offerings commemorating Attalos' Celtic War. There were battle-scenes and dying Gauls to see, a gigantic Athena Promachos standing next to a statue of Attalos Soter, and several smaller portraits of the king, his family and his *philoi*. In the late nineteenth century the excavators of the Athena precinct found several large bases for memorials. A circular *bathron* was dedicated to Athena by the king; the inscription on its base thanked the goddess for victory in the Battle of the Kaikos.[90] This base is usually associated with the Capitoline Dying Gaul and the so-called Ludovisi Group in the Mueso Nazionale delle Terme in Rome, two surviving marble copies of original bronzes from the Pergamene Athena sanctuary, but the exact connection of these sculptures with any of the sanctuary's bases is impossible to ascertain.[91] The other large monument, the long *bathron*

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[89] Most clearly expressed in an inscription of Pergamene settlers in Panion, Thrace, dedicated to Zeus Soter, Athena Nikephoros, Apollo Pythios, and 'King Eumenes Soter and Euergetes': *OGIS* no. 301. The name Nikephoros was used mainly in the propaganda of Attalos' successor Eumenes.

[90] *OGIS* no. 269 = *IvP* 20.

[91] The two figures of the Ludovisi Group have been soundly identified as a Galatian noble and his wife; the man has stabbed the woman to death and proceeds taking his own life. The generally accepted notion that the male figure does so in order to ward off the humiliation of falling into enemy hands alive, however, is not so obvious and requires justification, for this interpretation presupposes a sense of honour that Celts are not normally credited with in the written sources of that time. On absence of honour as a Celtic characteristic see *e.g.* Polyb.2.7.5, 2.32.8, 9.34.11. Although tentative as well, I might suggest that we should allow for the possibility that the Celtic man is acting in a fit of madness, which would at least be more in accordance with the Greek image, such as I have noted above. The old popular understanding of the Ludovisi Group as a idealised 'compassionate' image of the enemy, for which even underlying stoic thoughts have been proposed, can now be dismissed, cf. Schalles, *Kulturpolitik*. The Dying Gaul

commemorating victory over the Galatians and Antiochos Hierax, was dedicated by the king's army commanders; its base inscription honoured Athena, Zeus and Attalos.[92] Other inscriptions found in this area honoured Athena and Zeus.[93]

Outside the city walls Attalos built a second sanctuary for Athena the Bestower of Victory, called the Nikephorion.[94] Attalos furthermore rebuilt and enlarged the temple of Zeus on the Upper Agora.[95] Above the entrance a statue of Nike was placed. The altar in front of the temple was dedicated to Zeus Soter. After the Battle of the Kaikos Attalos also made dedications abroad, notably in Athens and Delos, but in Delphi too.[96] In Athens he commissioned a stoa and on the southern slope

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poses no difficulties in interpretation: a realistic image of a defeated enemy lying in the dust: not a compassionate but a triumphal image.

[92] *OGIS* no. 273-9 = *IvP* 21-8.

[93] The Celtic marbles and their sculptors are mentioned by Plin.*N.H.*.43.84. For the inscriptions in the Athena sanctuary: H. Fraenkel, *Altertümer von Pergamon* 8.1, Berlin 1890. Cf. W. Radt, *Pergamon. Geschichte und Bauten einer antiken Metropole*, Darmstadt 1999, 159-168, who gives an overview of recent interpretations of the inscriptions. The sculptures found in and associated with the Athena sanctuary are listed in F. Winter (ed.), *Altertümer von Pergamon* 7, Berlin 1908, cf. J. Schäfer, *Pergamenische Forschungen* I, 1972. R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, London 1991, gives a good general treatment of these sculptures and their influence on pages 99-126, and on page 113 places next to each other the competing reconstructions of the Celtic groups by H. Schober and E. K Künzl. The thorough study of the dedications in R. Wenning, *Die Galateranatheme Attalos I. Eine Untersuchung zum Bestand und zur Nachwirkung pergamenischer Skulptur*, Berlin 1978, is somewhat outdated, but J. Schalles, *Untersuchungen zur Kulturpolitik der pergamenischen Herrscher im dritten Jahrhundert vor Christus*, Tübingen 1985, chapter 'Die inhaltliche Deutung der Galaterskulpturen', 80-149 is excellent.

[94] Radt, *Pergamon*, 242-3; Schalles, *Kulturpolitik*, 145-146. The location of the Nikephorion has not been established; the most likely location is near the Gate of Eumenes in the south, where the road to the acropolis began. The Nikephorion was built after *c.* 220, raised to the ground by troops of Philip V in 201, and rebuilt by Eumenes II: Polyb.16.1; App.*Mac.*4. Cf. Hansen, *Attalids*, 55-57.

[95] In a decree of Pergamon, *OGIS* no. 332, 5-17, divine honours were awarded to Attalos III, the son of the posthumously deified Eumenes II; it was *i.a.* decreed that a gold statue of King Attalos as a mounted victor were to be placed beside the altar of Zeus Soter on the Upper Agora, and frankincense offered to the king daily.

[96] R. Wenning, *Die Galateranatheme Attalos I. Eine Untersuchung zum Bestand und zur Nachwirkung pergamenischer Skulptur*, Berlin 1978, 49; cf. Hansen, *Attalids*, 26-27 and 290-292; Schalles, *Kulturpolitik*, 104-143.

of the Acropolis erected four large groups consisting of twenty-five bronze statues each, representing battles between (1) Olympian Gods and Giants, (2) Athenians and Amazons, (3) Athenians and Persians, (4) Pergamenians and Galatians.[97] Attalos made his message very, very clear.

The Later Attalids

Pièce de résistance of Attalid victory propaganda was the so-called Great Altar of Pergamon. Its building began under King Eumenes II Philadelphos Soter (197-159), who more than his father was responsible for the transformation of the Pergamene acropolis into a splendourous *basileia* that could compete with Alexandria and Antioch.[98] Profiting from Seleukid and Antigonid decline in the Aegean region, Eumenes posed as the standard-bearer of Hellenism and protector of the ancestral freedom and autonomy of the Greeks.[99] He embellished his capital with splendourous buildings, founded a *mouseion*, attracted Greek poets, philosophers and artists to his court, and so on. Eumenes also was a magnificent benefactor of cities throughout the Aegean, notably Athens and Delphi.[100] It was primarily his father's and his own triumphs over Celtic armies that Eumenes used to seek acknowledgement as the saviour and benefactor of Greek civilisation.[101]

During Eumenes' reign the Attalid kingdom arrived at its greatest territorial extent due to the defeat of the Seleukid king Antiochos the Great by Roman and Attalid forces in the Battle of Magnesia (189). By the Treaty of Apameia one year later Attalos acquired almost all parts of Asia Minor that had formerly been under Seleukid control. Eumenes furthermore fought two major wars against the Celts. First he defeated the Galatian king Ortiagion between 185 and 183 as part of a war

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[97] Paus.1.25.2.

[98] Strab.13.4.2.

[99] R.B. McShane, *The Foreign Policy of the Attalids of Pergamon*, Urbana 1964, 58-91.

[100] Hansen, *Attalids*, 67-68, 105-106, 234-298.

[101] Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 147.

against Prousias I of Bithynia, with whom the Galatians were allied.[102] This victory resulted in the nominal subjugation of Galatia to Attalid dominance, and it justified Eumenes' taking of the epithet of Saviour.[103] It also led to the foundation in Pergamon of a festival of Nikephoria in honour of Athena Nikephoros. The Nikephoria found wide recognition as a paramount panhellenic festival and was equated with the Soteria of Delphi.[104] The Attalids' position in the Aegean was not unlike that of the Aitolians in Central Greece. The Attalids, too, had suddenly risen to power by stepping into a power vacuum —here the result of Antigonid and Seleukid failure —and like the 'Aitolian' Soteria the Nikephoria propagated Attalid political and military preponderance. Eumenes' second clash with the Celts was a Galatian uprising against Pergamon. This war ended in 166 with Attalid victory in the Battle of Mount Tmolos near Sardis. In this battle Eumenes was aided by Dionysos. Eumenes later built a sanctuary for the liberator Dionysos Lyseios on Mount Tmolos and established a Lyseios cult in the god's birthplace Thebes.[105] This victory, too, stirred up the gratitude of the Greeks. Both Eumenes and Attalos, who had been posthumously deified at least since 188, received divine honours. At Sardis and Tralles a festival of *Athanaia* and *Eumeneia* was established. The people of Pergamon voted a

[102] Polyb.14.15, 25.2; Liv.17.60. Cf. F. Chamoux, 'Pergame et les Galates', *REG* 101, 1988, 492-500; C. Habicht, 'Über die Kriege zwischen Pergamon und Bithynien', *Hermes* 84, 1956, 90-110.

[103] Allen, *Attalid Kingdom,* 79 and 150-151 with n 26.

[104] Hansen, *Attalids*, 449-450; Allen, *Attalid Kingdom,* 123-129. Coins were struck in the name of Athena Nikephoros, probably on the occasion of the installation, and again at the reorganisation, of the Nikephoria. The image of Athena on these issuesæheavily armed and with a small Nike in her handæprobably depicts the cult statue at the rebuilt Nikephorion outside the city. On the exclusive connection of the Nikephoria and its propaganda with the Celtic Wars of Eumenes II: A.S. Faita, 'The Medusa-Athena Nikephoros Coin from Pergamon', in: S. Deacy, and A. Villing (edd.), *Athena in the Classical World,* Leiden 2001, 163-180, with literature. On the decree in acceptance of the festival, and the date: M. Segre, 'L'institution des Nikephoria de Pergame', in: L. Robert (ed.), *Hellenica* V, Paris 1948, 104-105; C.P. Jones, 'Diodorus Pasparos and the Nikephoria of Pergamon', *Chiron* 4, 1974, 183-205.

[105] Diod.31.14; cf. Polyb.29.31, 31.6.6; Liv.45. On the Galatian uprising and its aftermath: Hansen, *Attalids*, 120-129. Dionysos was a 'personal' god of the royal family: Hansen, *Attalids*, 451-452; cf. Paus.10.15.2-3.

gold victory crown for a new cult statue of Athena in her precinct. The people of the Ionian League voted a golden crown and a statue of Eumenes, and inaugurated festivals in honour of Athena and Eumenes too. The Ionians praised Eumenes as the common benefactor of the Greeks and thanked him for having restored peace and prosperity. In Kos, Kyzikos and Teos divine honours were given to Eumenes and his family.[106]

The Attalid Gigantomachy

Eumenes' architectural projects in Pergamon (continued by his brother and successor Attalos II, r. 159-138) were built alongside the city's main road and procession street. The road started at the Gate of Eumenes and terminated on top of the acropolis.[107] Its ultimate starting point probably was the Nikephorion outside the city. Winding up the slopes of the acropolis the road passed by several public monuments: first mainly buildings connected with Pergamon's identity as a *polis* — gymnasium, market square, agora — then more and more monuments connected with kingship, until it finally reached the royal palaces on the acropolis' summit. The focal point of

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[106] Delphi: *F.Delphes* III 3.241 = *OGIS* no. 305, 7-9. Tralles: L. Robert, 'Décret de Tralles', *RPh* 40, 1934, 279-291. Pergamon: *OGIS* no. 299; cf. Paus.1.4.6. Ionians: C.B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Age*, New Haven 1934, no. 52. Kos: *Syll* no. 1028. Kyzikos and Teos: *OGIS* no. 305, lines 11, 7-12. For divine honours for the Attalids see generally Hansen, *Attalids*, 435-470, and (much more cautious as regards the actual deification of living Attalids) C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*, Munich 1956, 124-126; the evidence is discussed in Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 145-58, who is mainly concerned with chronological and technical problems. In Athens Attalos I and Eumenes II were heroised as eponymous *phyle* heroes (replacing the Antigonids kings Antigonos I and Demetrios I whom the Athenians had deified and honoured as *soteres* ever since they liberated the city in 307) but it is uncertain if this was exclusively connected with their Celtic Wars.

[107] On the building programs of the Attalid kings: Hansen, *Attalids*, 234-298; A. Schober, *Die Kunst von Pergamon*, 1951; E. Rohde, *Pergamon. Burgberg und Altar*, Berlin 1964. For an overview of the latest excavations: W. Radt, 'Recent research in and about Pergamon: A survey (ca. 1987-1997)', in: H. Koester (ed.), *Pergamon, Citadel of the Gods. Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development*, Harrisburg 1998, 1-40.

this architectural celebration of Attalid might was situated halfway, as a kind of intermediary space between the civic *polis* below, and the royal space high above the city. This central area consisted of three terraces that together formed one integrated whole: (1) the existing *temenos* of Athena, which was enlarged to include new buildings: a *propylon* entrance adorned with images of Athena's owl and Zeus' eagle, *stoai* decorated with sculptured trophies (arms in both Celtic and Macedonian style), and a *tropaion*;[108] (2) a newly created precinct whereon the Great Altar was built; (3) a terrace supporting royal tombs, perhaps the focal point of ruler cult. These all visitors passed by before entering the *basileia* area proper, where the audience rooms, royal palaces and arsenals were located.

The Great Altar of Pergamon, now in Berlin, is included in a second century AD list of the Seven Wonders of the World. This is the only ancient text of which we know for certain that it deals with the Great Altar:

> In Pergamon stands a great marble altar, forty feet high, with huge sculptures; these represent a Gigantomachy.[109]

The Great Altar's was dedicated to Zeus, Athena, or Zeus and Athena. The incredibly baroque reliefs on its outer walls depicted the Olympian Gods — representatives of kosmos — fighting a mixture of Titans and Giants — representatives of chaos — as an allegory of the Greek struggle against the

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[108] The original temple of Athena Polias was left intact; this building had been constructed in the late fourth century, perhaps commissioned by Alexander's wife and son Barsine and Herakles: Schalles, *Kulturpolitik*, 4-22.

[109] Lucius Ampelius, *Liber Memorialis* 8.14; the only other source mentioning the Altar is Paus.5.13.8, but cf. E. Rohde, *Pergamon. Burgberg und Altar*, Berlin 1964, 41; the Great Altar may be the 'Throne of Satan' in *Revelations* 2.12-3. The Altar disappeared because of earthquakes in the third century AD, and because its stones were used for the construction of the so-called Byzantine Wall in the fourth century and a castle in the early eight century. It was rediscovered by the legendary Carl Humann, who initiated systematic excavations of the site in the 1880's. On the discovery of the Altar see e.g.: A. Conze (ed.), *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon*, reprinted Berlin 1980; C. Humann, *Der Pergamon Altar. Entdeckt, beschrieben und gezeichnet*, Berlin 1959; cf. E. Schulte, *Chronik der Ausgrabung von Pergamon, 1871-1886*, Dortmund 1959.

Celts.[110] At least since the Persian Wars, if not earlier, the theme of Gigantomachy represented the universal battle of civilisation against barbarity, order against chaos. In the myth twenty-four Giants, creatures from Hell, assaulted Heaven and were defeated by the Olympian Gods, their immortal allies and one mortal: Herakles.[111] The Pergamene Gigantomachy presumably did not refer to a specific battle. It rather presented a summing-up of Attalid achievements against the Celts. Its iconography was deliberately reminiscent of Athenian victory celebrations after the Second Persian War so that a direct link was established with the saving of Greece in 480-479 (cf. the earlier mentioned statue groups erected by Attalos Soter on the slopes of the Athenian Acropolis, depicting battles against Amazons, Giants, Persians, and Celts).[112]

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[110] The connection of the Gigantomachy with the Attalids' Celtic victories is undisputed but controversy remains as to what specific event led to the construction of the altar: *communis opinio* prefers the defeat of the Galatian king Ortiagion in *c.* 184, but later and earlier dates have also been suggested, most recently by B. Andreae, 'Dating and significance of the Telephos Frieze in relation to the other dedications of the Attalids of Pergamon', in: R. Dreyfus and E. Schraudolf (edd.), *The Telephos Frieze From the Great Altar* II, San Francisco 1997, 121-126, who argues in favour of the Battle of Mount Tmolos in 166, a date already proposed by Schalles. *Pace* Radt, *Pergamon*, 196, who argues that Eumenes built the altar to thank Zeus Soter for saving him from an assassination attempt in Athens. There is abundant literature on the Great Altar. See in general Hansen, *Attalids*, 319-340, Radt, *Pergamon*, 168-80, and E. Schmidt, *Der Grosse Altar zu Pergamon*, Leipzig 1961. E. Rohde, *Pergamon. Burgberg und Altar*, Berlin 1964, 37-79, offers a usefull and well-illustrated guide to the Gigantomachy Frieze. For a more recent discussion: V. Kästner, 'The architecture of the Great Altar of Pergamon', in: H. Koester (ed.), *Pergamon, Citadel of the Gods. Archaelogical Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development*, Harrisburg 1998, 137-162.

[111] The main surviving written account of the Gigantomachy is Apollod.*Bibl.* 1.6.1-3; also Ovid.*Met.* 1.151-62; Strab.10.5.16; Paus.8.29.1-2; Diod.4.21. The fight between Gods and Titans is best known from Hes.*Theog.* 485ff; cf. Apollod.*Bibl.*1.1.5-7, 1.2.1; Hyg.*Fab.* 118; Diod.5.70; Paus.8.8.2.

[112] T.H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece*, London 1996^2, 74-75; cf. see E. Hall, 'Asia unmanned. Images of victory in classical Athens', in: J. Rich en G. Shipley (edd.), *War and Society in the Greek World*, London 1993, 108-133. Gigantomachy was an important aspect of the cult of Athena on the Athenian Acropolis. The shield of Pheidias' statue of Athena Parthenos was adorned with images of a Gigantomachy and an Amazonomachy, a Gigantomachy was woven into the peplops worn by the cult statue of the goddess during the Panathenaic Festival, it was the subject of the east

It will not be necessary to discuss all Gods and Giants on the altar's many slabs; only the central group (on the left side of the eastern frieze) needs more extensive treatment. On the right side of this group Athena can be seen fighting with several foes. The goddess is crowned by a winged Victory, approaching her from behind. Opposite Athena Zeus is busy battling three Giants to their knees. Behind Zeus is Herakles. Athena and Zeus are facing each other. The space between them is filled with Giants falling down under the blows of the gods. The Herakles-Zeus-Athena group has a perfectly balanced symmetry, and is flanked on either side by a chariot, driven by Hera and Ares.[113] This group was immediately opposite the entrance of the precinct. It was the panorama that visitors saw upon entering and there could be no doubt that what they saw was the epicentre of the battle.

The inside of the altar was decorated with a smaller relief relating the history of Telephos, the son of Herakles and Auge. Telephos was *heros ktistes* of Pergamon and the Attalids claimed lineal descent from him. Herakles' part in the Telephos myth was much stressed on the Telephos Frieze. The literal centrality of the Telephos Frieze inside the altar mirrored the symbolic centrality of Herakles on the exterior friezes, and

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metopes of the Parthenon and of the paintings of several vases dedicated to the goddess already in the sixth century. Moreover, it was on the Parthenon that the Giants first acquired their barbarian guise. Other well-known images of Gigantomachy were in Delphi, namely on the exteriors of the treasuries of the Siphnians (*c.* 525) and Megarians (*c.* 500), and moreover on the archaic temple of Apollo himself (*c.* 525-500). Gigantomachy in art: F. Vian, *Répertoire des gigantomachies figurées dans l'art grec et romain*, Paris 1951; M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst*, Berlin 1887. For Gigantomachy in Hellenistic Greek and Latin literature see esp. P. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium*, Oxford 1986, 85-156. The Attalids' Celtic victories were also celebrated in painting: Paus.1.4.6.

[113] W. Schindler, *Mythos und Wirklichkeit in der Antike*, Leipzig 1987, 148-149; E. Rohde, *Pergamon. Burgberg und Altar*, Berlin 1964, 37-79. On Athenian images of Gigantomachy, notably on the Parthenon, Athenian art, Herakles, Zeus and Athena are together presented as a 'winning team; on the close relationship of the three: J. Neils, 'Athena, Alter ego of Zeus', in: S. Deacy, and A. Villing (edd.), *Athena in the Classical World*, Leiden 2001, 219-232, 229-232, with literature.

stressed the Attalids' ancestry from Herakles, and thus ultimately from Zeus.[114]

Since the reign of Alexander the Great kings regularly associated themselves with Herakles for reason of his divine parentage, his bodily strength, invincibility, his quality as soter from monsters, et cetera.[115] The Attalids focussed on their ancestor's part in the Gigantomachy. This is why they chose Gigantomachy to represent their trial of strength with the Celts instead of the better known struggle between the Gods and the Titans, like Kallimachos did in the *Hymn to Delos*.[116] On the Gigantomachy Frieze Herakles refers to, if not represents, the Attalid monarchy. Herakles was the Attalids' ancestor and he was closely linked to Zeus and Athena, the deities with whom the Attalids associated their kingship. Therefore Herakles fights beside Zeus and Athena. The connection between Herakles and his father Zeus is obvious. But Herakles also maintained a special relationship with Athena. Throughout his mortal life, his many deeds and adventures, Athena had been Herakles' guide and helper. It was in a sanctuary sacred to Athena that Herakles fathered Telephos.[117]

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[114] Paus.1.4.6, 5.13.2, 8.4.6. The *heros* Telephos already had a sanctuary and cult in Pergamon; Telephos and his mother Auge figure on Attalid coins. On the Telephos Frieze see now R. Dreyfus and E. Schraudolph (edd.), *Pergamon. The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, 2 vols., San Francisco and New York 1996. There is a detailed description of the friezes in Hansen, *Attalids*, 338-347; cf. W.D. Heilmeyer (ed.), *Der Pergamonaltar. Die neue Präsentation nach Restaurierung des Telephosfrieses*, Tübingen 1997.

[115] See now the exhaustive study by U. Huttner, *Die politische Rolle der Heraklesgestalt im griechischen Herrschertum*, Stuttgart 1997.

[116] In Hellenistic times the two myths were not always strictly separated, cf. E. Simon, *Pergamon und Hesiod*, Berlin 1975. The gods had received an oracle that the Giants could only be killed by the hands of a mortal and for that reason enlisted Herakles.

[117] Apollod.*Bibl.*2.7.4; Diod.4.33; Paus.8.48.5; 8.47.3. It has been argued that the emphasis on the meeting of Auge and Herakles in Arkadia on the Telephos Frieze reflected the pleasant diplomatic contacts between the Attalid monarchy and the Achaean League; during the reign of Eumenes II, however, relations between the two states were not good, cf. Schindler, *Mythos und Wirklichkeit*, 154-155 (not to mention that the meeting had been rather unpleasant for Auge). On Telephos in Greek art in general: C. Bauchhens-Thuriedl, *Der Mythos van Telephos in der antiken Bildkunst*, Würzburg 1971.

Moreover, it was said that Telephos' mother had founded the first altar of Athena in Pergamon.[118]

The figure of Herakles held great attraction to the Attalids (and other dynasties as well) because he was both heros and theos, both a (deified) man and a god.[119] This made him an excellent model for ruler cult. Moreover, Herakles not only acquired immortality but was even admitted to Olympus and 'reborn' as a thirteenth Olympian next to the Twelve Gods.[120] The same honour befell the deified king Eumenes II after his death. In an inscription from the reign of Attalos III the Pergamenian people decreed that a statue of Eumenes were to be regularly crowned with a victory wreath by 'the stephanephoros of the Twelve Gods and the God King Eumenes'.[121] Giving his even greater prestige as a saviour, similar deification may be postulated for the deified Attalos Soter. As Herakles' apotheosis as an Olympian deity was a reward for his part-taking in the Gigantomachy,[122] this adds an explanation to the centrality of Zeus and Athena in Attalid propaganda: only Athena had the power to bring mortals before the throne of Zeus, and only Zeus could make a mortal immortal. Zeus had brought Herakles from his funeral pyre to Olympos in a golden chariot; Athena had taken him by the hand, introduced him to the Olympians, and finally led him before Zeus.[123]

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[118] Telephos and Auge in Pergamon: Paus.1.4.6; 5.13.2; 8.4.6. founding of the Athena cult: *IvP* 156, 23-24, cf. Hansen, *Attalids*, 447.

[119] Pind.*Nem.* 3.22; Hdt.2.44.5.

[120] Diod.4.39; Pind.*Isthm.*4.59; *Nem.*10.18; Apollod.*Bibl.*2.7.7; Hdt.2.44.5. In 336 Philip II included in a procession an image of himself in between statues of the Olympian gods, presenting himself as *synthronos* of the Twelve: Diod.16.92.5, cf. 16.95.1; Ael.*Var.*5.12; Ath.6.251B; Neoptol. *ap.* Stob.4.34.70. Cf. J. Tondriau and L. Cerfaux, *Le culte des souverians dans la civilisation gréco-romaine*, Paris 1956, 123-125; C. Habicht, 'Über die Kriege zwischen Pergamon und Bithynien', *Hermes* 84, 1956, 90-110.

[121] *OGIS* no. 332, lines 17-20.

[122] Pind.*Nem.*1.60-7.

[123] Apollod.*Bibl.*2.7.7; Hyg.*Fab.* 02; cf. Ov.*Met.*9.241-273. Cf. J. Neils, 'Athena, Alter ego of Zeus', in: S. Deacy, and A. Villing (edd.), *Athena in the Classical World*, Leiden 2001, 226.

Conclusion

The Greeks equated the Celtic invasion of Greece with the Second Persian War. Pausanias based his account of the war on this equation. However, Pausanias also shows how different things were in 279, as several aspects of his account reveal that the Celts were not half as dangerous as the Great King's well-organised *Grande Armée* in the year 480. First, the Greek army at Thermopylai was able to block the approach of the Celts. Indeed, any troop of massed in-line infantry with any training and experience ought to be perfectly able to hold its ground against the helter-skelter charge of these barbarians. The Greeks only retreated from Thermopylai when the enemy had already dispersed in eastward and southeastward directions: not because the Celts had pushed home their attack through or around the passes and into Attika. As far as the Athenians were concerned, the second battle of Thermopylai was a great success. Second, only the countryside suffered; with the exception of Kallion, cities were not threatened, for the invaders brought neither the knowledge nor the material to construct siege weapons. Third, whenever a Greek army managed to catch up with the Celts, the Greeks won. Apparently, the problem with the Celts was that they were not so easy to catch up with. They were dangerous only as long as they roved around in dispersed bands, avoiding battle, and beyond the reach of the slow moving heavy infantry that was typical of the Greek and Macedonian armies. Such war bands could terrorise and blackmail isolated cities by pillaging their farmlands, but not federations of cities such as the Northern League. With the exception of the unprepared army of Ptolemy Keraunos, the Celts were, as a rule, defeated whenever they were forced to engage in a pitched battle. Hence the kings' preference for ambushes when dealing with these enemies.[124]

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124 In 276 Antigonos Gonatas defeated the Celts after he had first outmanoeuvred and ambushed them; Pyrrhos' victory in 274 was the result of a rear-attack on an unprepared army column; the victory of Attalos in the mountainous region around the source of the river Kaikos was to all likelihood the result of a well-prepared trap; Ptolemy Philadelphos prevailed

Pausanias informs us also that the attack on mainland Greece was not to all the Greeks a matter for concern. The short-lived military alliance of 279 consisted of states from the area were the attack took place — Lokris, Phokis, Boiotia and Aitolia — with help only from Athens and Megara. Both the composition of the 'Greek' army and the course of events suggest that Greek war aims were limited to prevent the ransacking of each states' own territory, not to drive the Celts away altogether (even though the Aitolian League later claimed it had done exactly that). To all likelihood the Celts, plain-dwelling people, came to mountainous southern Greece only to plunder. There are no Celtic sources to inform us how laden with booty and covered in glory these warriors returned to their clans.[125] There remains only a Greek version. Why, then, did this single crisis seem, as one modern commentator said, 'as if the Greeks' very survival was in the balance'?[126] And why did this and later wars against Celts generate such an outburst of propaganda, first of the Aitolian League, later especially of kings?

The saving of Delphi gave panhellenic dimensions to the events of 279. The initial thanksgivings to Apollo Pythios and Zeus Soter, and the establishment of the Soteria festival served no distinct political aims. But politics and religion became interrelated when the Aitolians appointed themselves protectors of the sanctuary and appropriated control of the festival. In 279 the Aitolian *koinon* had suffered more than any other Greek state that had been involved in the war. By linking their own victory to the Soteria festival, the Aitolians broadened the scope of both the Delphic festival and the Aitolian victory. The Soteria now came to commemorate not merely the saving of Delphi but of Greece itself. By equating the glory of Aitolia with that of Apollo the Aitolians posed as protectors of the

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over his rebellious mercenaries only after he had managed to entrap and isolate them on an island in the Nile.

[125] Later Greek stories relating how plunder from Delphi turned up in remote places suggest that the raid on Greece was not altogether a failure, see e.g. N.G.L. Hammond, 'Travels in Epirus and South Albania Before World War II', *AW* 8.1-2, 1983, 13-46.

[126] Rankin, *Celts*, 91.

Greeks and thereby legitimised their koinon's political and military supremacy in Central Greece.

Kings were to copy and surpass the Aitolian way of making propaganda. In the early Hellenistic age panhellenism and the idea of a homogeneous Greek culture were developing concepts within the imperial ideologies of the Macedonian kingdoms. Kings posed as the guardians of the Greek commonwealth and of Hellenic culture, and as the leaders of Greek unity.[127] Because of this all kings, but notably the Ptolemies in Alexandria, acted as patrons of Greek poets whose work was notorious for its deliberate 'Greekness'.[128] The first king to claim panhellenic significance for a victory over Celts was Antigonos Gonatas after the Battle of Lysimacheia. Pyrrhos, Antiochos Soter, Ptolemy Philadelphos and Attalos Soter followed suit until, finally, Eumenes Philadelphos Soter awarded the Celts a central place in his dynasty's propaganda and established the panhellenic festival of Nikephoria in competition with the Delphic Soteria.

The attack on Delphi was conceived as an attack on civilisation itself. This was, in the first place, because Delphi was the principal panhellenic shrine of mainland Greece. Second because Delphi was home to the *omphalos*, the more than symbolic navel of the earth which demarcated the four quarters of the compass and was a central element in late Classical cosmology.[129] The desecration of the Delphic sanctuary could therefore be understood as an assault against the earthly nucleus of the cosmic order. Moreover, the attackers were typical barbarians who came from a place at the opposite end of that centre, namely the westernmost edge of the world where

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[127] On the latter aspect as a policy of Philip and Alexander: M. Flower, 'Alexander the Great and Panhellenism', in: A.B. Bosworth and E. J. Baynham (edd.), *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction*, Oxford and New York 2000, 96-135.

[128] See my 'Mecenaat aan de hellenistische hoven', *Lampas* 34.3, 2001, 187-203, with English summary. Alexandrian poetry was, as one of the editors of this volume it once aptly put it, 'hard-core Greek': I.L. Pfeijffer, *De Antieken. Een korte literatuurgeschiedenis*, Amsterdam and Antwerpen 2000, 100.

[129] J. Defradas, *Les thèmes de la propagande delphique*, diss. Paris 1954; 2nd rev. ed. 1972, 108-10; cf. Strab.9.3.6; Paus.10.16.3. On this concept in general: H.V. Herrmann, *Omphalos*, Munich 1959.

Chaos lurked. The Celts' homeland was, as Pausanias puts it, 'the remotest region of Europe, on the coast of an enormous tidal sea which no ship can ever cross; it has sea monsters in it nothing like the other monsters of the sea.'[130] The identification of the savage Celts with Giants was obvious. The Giants' came out of Tartaros to attack Heaven. They were defeated by the gods and one mortal, Herakles, who was then rewarded with immortality and a place amongst the gods on Mount Olympus. The Celts came from the world border to attack Greece. In 279 Apollo saved Delphi, aided by at least two other Olympians and several demigods. Thereafter not gods but kings delivered the Greeks from the barbaric onslaught, and received appropriate divine honours in return.

Of course the Celtic Wars did not bring about the self-presentation of kings as *soteres*. This notion goes back to Classical times.[131] It had taken root as a central aspect of royal ideology decades before the Celts arrived. But the emotional impact of the Celtic invasion provided monarchs with a rare opportunity to boost their reputation as saviours. In this context *soter* had divine connotations; deliverance from whatever threatened them was what *poleis* normally expected from the gods. But *soter* also had distinct military connotations.

In the well-known but still puzzling ithyphallic hymn to Demetrios Poliorketes[132] (who was the first Hellenistic ruler to be styled *soter* by a city[133]) the Athenians praised that king as a more powerful god than any other god, 'because the other gods are either far away, or they do not have ears, or they do not exist, or they do not take any notice of us — but you are present here, and visible to us.' The hymn was composed to

[130] Paus.1.4.1; cf. Call.*Hymn to Delos* 171-2: 'When Brennos from the Western Sea led hosts for the overthrow of the Greeks'. On the Greek views of the world boundary: J.S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought. Geography, Exploration, and Fiction,* Princeton 1992.

[131] H.S. Versnel, 'Heersercultus in Griekenland', *Lampas* 7, 1974, 129-163.

[132] Douris *FGrH* 76 F 13 *ap.* Ath. 6.253 b-f. Cf. F. Taeger, *Charisma. Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes*, Stuttgart 1957, I 271-273.

[133] In 307, together with his father Antigonos Monophthalmos: Plut.*Demetr.*10.4. Demetrios had 'liberated' the city from Kassandros; the spot where he had stepped down from his chariot and first touched Athenian soil became a sacred place, with an altar dedicated to 'Demetrios the Descending God'.

celebrate the entry of Demetrios into Athens in 290, after successful military exploits of the king in Central Greece. The wars with the Celts, too, proved that kings could surpass the gods in coming up to the expectations of the *poleis,* in this case protection against, and deliverance from, barbaric enemies in wartime.

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WHO ARE 'WE'?
TOWARDS PROPAGANDISTIC MECHANISM AND PURPOSE OF CAESAR'S *BELLUM GALLICUM*

Stephan Busch

C. Iulius Caesar wrote his *commentarii de bello Gallico* with a certain 'political' or 'propagandistic' intention — there is not any scholar who would not agree with that. Yet there are quite different opinions about essential points such as target group and communicative strategy of this text about the Gallic war. As is well known, the *Bellum Gallicum* itself does not give any explicit hints at its purpose, nor do external testimonies clear this point plainly. The often quoted words of Cicero (*Fam.* 262), according to which the *Bellum Gallicum* should be a gathering of material for historians, needs interpretation itself and has not helped to clear the case so far. Accordingly, there are controversial or somewhat vague modern ideas of the communicative situation where the *Bellum Gallicum* is set.

The aim of the present essay is to go beyond the mere exchanging of views, that has dominated Caesar-philology for decades. To avoid a premature historical judgement of the *Bellum Gallicum*, the old quarrel between adversaries and apologetes of Caesar will be left aside. Instead, we shall try the 'neutral' way of narratological analysis, which in recent times has been applied to the *Bellum Gallicum* successfully in certain respects. Conscious of the complexity of philological work on Caesar, where consideration of any point mostly has consequences for a lot of others, we may nevertheless postpone a lot of interesting discussions and restrict ourselves to sketch the outline.[1]

[1] For reasons of space, the discussion of passages of the *Bellum Gallicum* and of secondary literature on Caesar is restricted to a minimum here. For

The Background

Roman culture of the late Republic shows an increasing literary and subliterary production, which obviously touched on politics as well. The expansion of the Roman Empire certainly is one of the reasons why a great part of communication, formerly direct and concentrated in the city of Rome, now had to find new ways over long distances. Reports were written and letters exchanged, orations and memoranda were published to an extent not known before. One genre that virtually flourished during the interior conflicts of the first century is the political pamphlet. We know, that Caesar as well, writing his *Anticato,* took part in this kind of political discourse. Yet all these writings, as far as we know, were not spread very widely but circulated among the learned and thus mostly in the private sphere of the social and political elite. As an obviously remarkable case, the younger Pliny reports (from more than a century later, *ep.* 4,7,2) that with great expense the senator Aquilius Regulus had a memorial book about his deceased son's life distributed and even publicly read — with a circulation of 1000 copies, what Pliny thinks is rather exaggerated but does not look like a mass edition to us nowadays.

It was Caesar himself, as far as we know, who realized the potential of writings as a means to influence a wider public and who tried to make use of it. Being consul in 59 BC, he initiated the publication of the *acta senatus* and *acta populi* whereas diffusion of this kind of information had been previously left to private initiative. He kept on experimenting in this field. So we learn from a notice of Cassius Dio (43,5,1ff.) that during the civil war Caesar threw 'little books' (βιβλία βραχέα) into the enemies' camp, inducing them to desert by a written catalogue of promises. Scipio answered in the same way, and Octavianus as well is said to have practised this some years later. After that, we do not hear anything about this kind

further and detailed discussion, I refer to my forthcoming book *Caesar's Bellum Gallicum. Erzählerstandpunkt und Leserhorizont.*

of written military propaganda, which seems to have become obsolete according to the course of history. These remarks about Caesar's striving for political publicity and broad effect by means of his writings provide a rough outline of the background, against which the *Bellum Gallicum* can be read.

The Narrative Situation of the Bellum Gallicum

When the text does not contain explicit statements about its communicative function, we can try to analyse the narrative to get information about it or at least to come closer to an answer. According to Gérard Genette's leading questions "qui parle?" and "qui voit?",[2] we are going to ask: Who is the speaker of the narrative words? What is his status regarding the story he tells? Which perspective the story is told from, i.e., who is the 'knower' of the narrative story?

It is well known that in the *Bellum Gallicum* Caesar does not show openly that (or: if) he himself is the one who tells the events of the Gallic war. Using the grammatical third person for the acting figure Caesar, the author Caesar does not fit the scheme that is nowadays seen as normal for autobiographical narrative texts, where the author, the narrator and the main actor are usually identical. By this reason, narratological categorization of the *Bellum Gallicum* seems to be difficult. Some scholars rather tend to ignore the use of the third person as a "perspicuous and empty function"[3] whereas in contrary Elisabeth Reijgwart recently has emphasized the existence of an 'unknown' narrator, who is not identical with Caesar.[4]

The narrator of the *Bellum Gallicum* is difficult to pinpoint primarily because he almost completely stands back behind his narrative, seldom commenting or reasonning about the events

[2] G. Genette, *Discours du récit*, in: *Figures* III, Paris 1972, 203.

[3] G. Genette, *Fiction et diction*, Paris 1991, 82: "Le narrateur du *De bello gallico* est une fonction si transparente et si vide qu'il serait sans doute plus juste de dire que ce récit est assumé par César parlant conventionellement (figurément) de lui-même à là troisième personne."

[4] E. Reijgwart, 'Zur Erzählung in Caesars *Commentarii*. Der 'unbekannte' Erzähler des *Bellum Gallicum*', *Philologus* 137, 1993, 18-37.

he reports. The few times he does, his identity with Caesar is not excluded and even seems to be obvious, but it is never stated explicitly. It is also characteristic that the narrator formulates these statements either impersonally or, with a certain weakening of the 'I', in the first person plural. But beside this 'pluralis modestiae', mostly used in self-references like *ut supra demonstrauimus*, there is also a real 'we' in the *Bellum Gallicum*, represented by the forms of personal and possessive pronouns and some few finite verbs. Paying attention to this conception of 'we' will be highly elucidating to the question of the narrator's diegetic status. Who is the group of persons the narrator joins using 'we'?

Two different modes of use stand side by side. On the one hand, 'we' can mean 'we, Romans in general', like in the following passage about Caesar's instructions for building a fleet bound for Britain (5,1,2):

> Earum modum formamque demonstrat. Ad celeritatem onerandi subductionisque paulo facit humiliores, quam quibus in nostro mari uti consueuimus, atque id eo magis, quod propter crebras commutationes aestuum minus magnos ibi fluctus fieri cognouerat, ad onera ac multitudinem iumentorum transportandam paulo latiores quam quibus in reliquis utimur maribus.

Appealing to the reader's knowledge, this 'we' obviously marks a community including both the narrator and the reader, though it is not unequivocally expressed (thence the narrative is directed to a Roman readership, which may be a platitude but must not be neglected in the interpretation). Yet it should be stated that this community does not stand in open opposition to the Romans acting in the narrative, as is sometimes the case in modern literature, where the narrator involves the reader by means of 'we' into an ironically distanced attitude towards the acting figures.
In other cases, the reference field of 'we' is clearly drawn closer (5,19,1):

> Cassiuellaunus [...] itinera nostra seruabat paulumque ex uia excedebat locisque impeditis ac siluestribus se occultabat atque iis regionibus, quibus nos iter facturos cognouerat, pecora atque homines ex agris in siluas compellebat [...].

Here, *itinera nostra* and *nos iter facturos* concretely refer to the Roman army operating in Britain, in other words to the participants of the campaign, with whom the narrator associates himself. What is shown here in a very clear example, can be found throughout the *Bellum Gallicum.* In cases like *agmen nostrum, castra nostra, acies nostra, nostrae munitiones,* it hardly makes sense to interpret 'we' mainly as 'Roman in general', in the case of *equitatus noster* it would be even misleading (the cavalry was supplied by the *socii*). 'We' rather marks the opposition between the Roman party and the *hostes* within the narrative, at the level of story. The frequent appearance of *nostri* resp. *milites nostri* must also be added here. The meaning in Latin usage may be usually 'Roman soldiers' — inevitably, depending on the context — but first of all 'our men' (consider in this connection Caesar's own usage in the *Bellum Ciuile*: *Pompeiani magna caede nostrorum castris Marcelli adpropinquabant,* 3,65,1).

Unambiguous are those passages, where *noster* stands for the genitivus subjectivus refering to a verbal noun; here also not 'we, Romans in general' but clearly the participants of the campaign are meant: *nostro aduentu permoti Britanni* (5,11,9), *nostras pabulationes frumentationesque obseruabat* (Vercingetorix 'watched us every time we tried to get fodder and water', 7,16,3), *magno esse Germanis dolori* [...] *superiores uictorias nostras* (Sabinus argued 'the Germani were indignant with the victories we had won before', 5,29,4), already cited above *itinera nostra seruabat* (Cassivellaunus 'observed us as we were marching', 5,19,1). Passages like these are not far from a first person plural of a finite verb, indicating that the narrator is part of the story he tells.

As a whole, the 'we' referring to the Roman army in Gaul is clearly predominant in the *Bellum Gallicum.* The unambiguous cases, however, of 'we, the Romans (not taking part in the war) in general' are few and restricted to few contexts. The distribution is connected with the content of the narrative and

is more or less mechanical: The general conception is used where more general things are told. Though this may concern some prominent passages such as the prooemium of book 1, it should not be overlooked that these are not representative of the whole narrative.

How to interpret these data? As far as semantics is concerned, we may state that the two usages of 'we' do not exclude each other, but rather refer to a single group. We can imagine this hypothetical group as including both a wider and a narrower circle, while everything said about the outer circle applies to the inner circle ('participants of the campaign') as well.

One can go even further and demonstrate that in the centre of this 'we'-conception, so to speak in the innermost circle, stands Caesar himself and maybe his entourage. As one of possible examples I present the following one taken from book 5: Caesar learns about Quintus Cicero being beleaguered in his winter camp and immediately takes counteraction. At the same time, he writes a letter to let the besieged know his plans (5,48,4):

> Hanc Graecis conscriptam litteris mittit, ne intercepta epistula nostra ab hostibus consilia cognoscantur.

According to the narrator's words effectfully using a hyperbaton to emphasize the confrontation with the enemies, the rescue plan seems to be common knowledge to the Roman party ('mine and the other soldiers' in Caesar's army'). That, however, *consilia nostra* are first of all Caesar's own plans (which suggests itself with regard to the content), is explicated directly after (5,48,6):

> In litteris scribit [*scil.* Caesar] se cum legionibus profectum celeriter adfore; hortatur ut pristinam uirtutem retineat.

In this passage, like in some others, the 'we' shows a certain ambiguity. At the point where the leader's planning and acting is shown as common to the whole army, in narrative and language the line of distinction between the narrator and the act-

ing Caesar becomes blurred, whereas is otherwise carefully observed.

Having examined the usage of 'we' in the *Bellum Gallicum*, we can say that the narrator reveals himself as part of the story he tells, that he is (using the narratological term) a homodiegetic narrator.[5] As far as this narrator-figure shows a personal profile, he is most likely to be Caesar: he has the general's view, he comments on what happens relying on the knowledge of the military leader (and author) Caesar, even though just a part of it is given away (e.g. there are no hints at Roman domestic politics at all). Beside this correspondence in contents there are some linguistic boundary problems, as we have seen. Nothing speaks against equating both except for the fact that it is not explicitly stated in the text. Obviously the author wished to avoid that. We shall return to these interesting findings later, because they have to be appraised in a wider context. Before, let's have a look at the second criterium that along with the narrator's status determines the narrative situation: the focus or perspective. Whose eyes is it that the events in Gaul are seen with in the *Bellum Gallicum*?

The traditional Caesar-philology thinks it an important point that the *Bellum Gallicum* reports very 'objectively' or at least makes an impression of doing so. Beside the diminishing of the narrator's role, it is attributed to the 'auctorial' narrative situation, i.e. to the narrator standing outside and above the events and so (supposedly) being 'neutral'. Thus, recently E. Reijgwart has emphatically defined the narrative situation of the *Bellum Gallicum* as heterodiegetic-auctorial.[6] In objection to this it must be said that essential features of the text cannot be grasped with this categorization and that, above all, connotations of these categories that have been deduced from modern

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[5] This has in principle just been stated by Reijgwart, 'Zur Erzählung', who, however, underestimated that fact in her conclusions.

[6] Reijgwart 'Zur Erzählung', *passim*; the 'olympic' (i.e., auctorial) point of view also plays an important part in Woldemar Görler's essay 'Die Veränderung des Erzählerstandpunktes in Caesars *Bellum Gallicum*', *Poetica* 8, 1976, 95-119.

narrative texts must not be transferred mechanically to a text from antiquity. Concerning perspective we must state that the narrator of the *Bellum Gallicum* uses the possibilities of an auctorial narrator (e.g. of a modern novel) in quite a limited way. So the story is told in retrospect but, with few exceptions, strictly following the chronological order of events. Cross-references are few, anticipations omitted almost entirely.[7] Putting himself in the other characters' shoes, which has been claimed as a certain mark for an auctorial point of view, is not an auctorial narrator's privilege. As can easily be shown, imagining himself in someone else's situation is a typical trait of Caesar as well, not only in retrospect (as the author of the story) but also in the moment of action itself. Important in this connexion is the fact, that the narrator provides insight into other characters' thoughts solely with regard to military or militarily relevant subjects. As an instructive example, I give the following one from the seventh book (7,8,4-9, 1):

> Celeriter haec fama ac nuntiis ad Vercingetorigem perferuntur. Quem perterriti omnes Aruerni circumsistunt atque obsecrant, ut suis fortunis consulat, neu se ab hostibus diripi patiatur, praesertim cum uideat omne ad se bellum translatum. Quorum ille precibus permotus castra ex Biturigibus mouet in Aruernos uersus.
> At Caesar biduum in his locis moratus, quod haec de Vercingetorige usu uentura opinione praeceperat, per causam supplementi equitatusque cogendi ab exercitu discedit, Brutum adulescentem his copiis praeficit.

This 'auctorially' reported scene, the Arverni imploring Vercingetorix and urging him to march against Caesar — no Roman could have seen that —, is nevertheless not only a vivid elaboration by the narrator. The pressure of the Arverni, who wished their territory to be protected, was clearly part of Caesar's calculation. Thus the scene is not only placed before the confirming remark *opinione praeceperat*, but also used as a

[7] The few anticipations, mostly with *postea*, *nondum* etc., do not reach far ahead (with one single exception: 1, 28, 5 about the *Boi*) and serve as a means to describe a unit of events in its complexity by adding details from the immediate future, cf. Eckart Mensching, *Caesars Bellum Gallicum. Eine Einführung*, Frankfurt am Main 1988, 68 and 71.

later explanation for the crossing of the Cevennes, which Caesar had described without giving any reasons. Anticipation and taking other persons' stand — which can be imagined not only abstractly, but also concretely as depicted in the *Bellum Gallicum* — proves to be a characteristic of Caesar as agent and is reflected by the narrator's way of telling.

Thus, one will not easily find passages in the *Bellum Gallicum*, where the narrator's perspective significantly exceeds Caesar's limits of perception and thought as they were at the reported time. On the whole, they are of no great weight. Events are mainly reported without greater distance, from a perspective of personal experience rather than from an 'olympic' viewpoint. In some passages (most impressively in the description of the battle against the Nervians, 2,21-27) the focus of the narrative is so 'personal' that it must be called 'auctorial' in narratological terms.

The result of our investigation may be rather unexpected: the narrator of the *Bellum Gallicum* does not seem to report objectively and neutrally like a modern historian would, nor does he make any effort to make this impression. For the most part, he tells things just as Caesar (and his army) experienced them, and he creates the impression that he himself is (or was) part of them. Both criteria, the status of the narrator as well as his perspective, point to an openly 'subjective' character of the narrative. Yet the author has taken effort to show this 'subjectivity' not as restricted to the person of Caesar himself, but, by using a particular concept of 'we', as refering to the whole of the Roman enterprise in Gaul.

The Use of the Third Person

So much has been written about the famous third person as *the* characteristic of the *Bellum Gallicum*, that it cannot be fully reported or summarized here. The retreat of the 'I' that goes along with the use of 'he' for Caesar, is usually also subsumed under the headword 'objectivity'. Evaluations range here from 'fiction of an objective report' up to the estimation as

"großartigste Selbstobjektivierung, die die Geschichte kennt", depending on the basic attitude towards Caesar and the *Bellum Gallicum.*[8]

What is particularly difficult to estimate is the influence of literary models on Caesar and his dependence on the genre conventions. So it has been argued that by using the third grammatical person for the figure that represents the author in the narrative, Caesar uses a pattern established by Thucydides and Xenophon's *Anabasis.* Others, however, have maintained that Caesar turned away from a Roman tradition of writing one's memoires in the first person (as maybe Sulla, Rutilius Rufus and Scaurus have done).[9] About the *litterae,* the reports of the proconsul sent to the senate (which doubtlessly can be seen as a preliminary stage of the *Bellum Gallicum,* cf. Suet, *Iul.* 56, 6), we may conjecture that Caesar wrote them in the 'I'-form as Cicero did (*Fam.* 15, 1 and 2). Yet as nearly nothing is left to us of the Roman genre of *commentarius,* except for Caesar's own, we can not reach a definite conclusion about this point.

Most scholars agree in considering the use of the third person as a narrative technique the author chose with regard to te purpose of the *Bellum Gallicum.* Rambaud has stressed the idea that this way of telling allows Caesar to use his own proper name in the text more often.[10] Mensching on the contrary characterized it as diverting from the 'egocentric' character of the story, a trick used by Caesar to lull the reader's mistrust (an attitude that is tacitly imputed to the assumed reader-

[8] The former position is to be found in the severe critics of Caesar, e.g., Peter Huber, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit Cäsars in seinem Bericht über den Gallischen Krieg,* Bamberg 1931², 7. The latter quotation about 'self-objectivization' is taken from Hans Oppermann's *Nachwort und bibliographische Nachträge* in the reprint of Meusel's commentary, Berlin 1960, 482. A more moderate position take, e.g., Schanz and Hosius in their *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* Bd. 1, München 1927, 341: "In den Memoiren fesselt [...] der objektive Ton, in dem Caesar wie ein fremder Zuschauer von den Ereignissen spricht." Cf. Mensching, *Einführung,* 49: "Eindruck der Unparteilichkeit".

[9] About this discussion, cf. Mensching, *Einführung,* 44.

[10] Michel Rambaud, *L'art de la déformation historique dans les Commentaires de César,* Paris 1966², 197f.

ship of the *Bellum Gallicum*).[11] We cannot but speculate about his purpose, but we can describe the text and its possible (or probable) effects. Here we come back to the results of the narratological investigation.

Analyzing the 'we'-concept of the *Bellum Gallicum*, we have seen that the narrator shows himself as part of the story he tells (i.e. homodiegetic), in an inobtrusive but unequivocal manner. The perspective is clearly a Roman one, mostly that of Caesar himself, and at any rate it should be called 'personal' and 'subjective' to a certain degree. Yet not only does the narrator avoid explicating his rather obvious identity; what is more, he veils it by using the third person for Caesar. It is interesting to observe a certain interplay between the latter and the concept of 'we' in the *Bellum Gallicum.*

An aspect essential in this context has just been mentioned: the retrait of the 'I'. If a story is told by a narrator using the 'I', the essential point is not only the moment of 'subjectivity', which can be reduced to the advantage of objectivity or the impression of objectivity (which is the usual interpretation). What is also essential is that there is a dialogic situation between the narrator and the narratee (resp. reader), which receives a strong emphasis, if the 'I'-narrator is a distinct vis-à-vis, particularly if he is also the protagonist of the story. This opposite situation, however, gives way to a side-by-side, if the narrator and the narratee perceive things from the same viewpoint. (We should keep in mind that the narrator of the *Bellum Gallicum* nearly always uses the first person plural for himself.) So the use of the third person for the acting figure Caesar causes an effect that the opposition of the narrator and the narratee is rather weak. The narrator sees and describes Caesar just as any reader would see him. Watching together with the narrator the reader can follow the story more easily and adopt the offered perspective as his own, whereas an 'I'-

[11] Mensching, *Einführung*, 48f.: "Das Mißtrauen oder die Skepsis desjenigen Lesers, der über die Identität von Autor und Hauptperson informiert ist, wird durch die Er-Form reduziert, gleichsam eingeschläfert. [...] Auf dem Wege über die Er-Form wollte der Autor die Skepsis des Lesers reduzieren, wollte er die Reaktionen des Publikums zu seinen Gunsten (zugunsten des Handelnden) beeinflussen."

story would be felt as someone else's. In this way, the third person for Caesar serves as a means of promoting identification with the text.

It deserves some attention, that Caesar modifies or avoids the 'I'-situations. Where Caesar, had he told his story in 'I'-form, would have used 'we', it could remain and did so (these passages could have been 'objectivized' as well). 'We' often marks, as is shown above, an extension of Caesar's personal affairs over the whole of the Roman army.

Sometimes we can observe a chracteristic distribution of 'Caesar' and 'we', as in the following example (5,18,4ff.):

> His rebus cognitis a perfugis captiuisque CAESAR praemisso equitatu confestim legiones subsequi iussit. Sed ea celeritate atque eo impetu *milites* ierunt, cum capite solo ex aqua extarent, ut *hostes* impetum legionum atque equitum sustinere non possent ripasque dimitterent ac se fugae mandarent.
>
> CASSIUELLAUNUS ut supra demonstrauimus omni deposita spe contentionis, dimissis amplioribus copiis, milibus circiter quattuor essedariorum relictis *itinera nostra* seruabat paulumque ex uia excedebat locisque impeditis ac siluestribus se occultabat atque iis regionibus, quibus *nos iter facturos* cognouerat, pecora atque homines ex agris in siluas compellebat et, cum *equitatus noster* liberius praedandi uastandique causa se in agros effunderet, omnibus uiis semitisque notis essedarios ex siluis emittebat et magno cum periculo *nostrorum equitum* cum his confligebat atque hoc metu latius uagari prohibebat.
>
> Relinquebatur ut neque longius ab agmine legionum discedi CAESAR pateretur et tantum agris uastandis incendiisque faciendis *hostibus* noceretur, quantum in labore atque itinere *legionarii milites* efficere poterant.

Obviously the distribution of Caesar and *nos/noster* in this passage is complementary. Caesar appears as grammatical subject of the two framing sentences, in which 'we' is not mentioned. In the middle period dominated by Cassivellaunus the Roman party is represented by *nos* and *noster.* Thus two aspects are expressed: on the one hand, the actions of the hostile king do not affect Caesar personally but the whole Roman army, on the other, the two protagonists giving their orders are identical to each other in the syntactic structure of the pas-

sage. On the basis of this and other examples we can state that the distribution of *Caesar* and *nos* shows a kind of narrative pattern. Carefully generalizig about what is more a tendency than a strict rule, we might say that 'Caesar' is used mainly in connexion with planning and directing, whereas in those passages dealing with action and exciting experience, especially in confrontation with the enemies, the Romans appear as a collective, to which by using 'we' the narrator assigns himself.

Thus the swich from 'I' to 'we' as well as the use of 'he' instead of 'I' is a means of 'de-subjectivization'. Both are means of description going hand in hand that the author uses to suggest his view of the Gallic events to the reader. This diminishing of the person of Caesar goes along with the depiction of the acting figure of Caesar in the *Bellum Gallicum*: it is clearly restricted to his function as general and thus as a head of the Gallic enterprise, whereas other traits, especially 'personal' details, are completely suppressed.

Involving the Reader

In the foregoing discussion we have brought out the idea that the narrative structure of the *Bellum Gallicum* contains elements that we said can serve to involve the reader or to suggest a particular view on things. It is time now for a closer consideration: how do these mechanisms work to influence the public as 'propaganda'?

Most scholars have thought it was just the lapidary report of success after success (whether true or distorted), which Caesar used as it were to overwhelm his reader with an impression of tremendous greatness ('self-display').[12] The goal thus would be to make a great impression upon the reader or even to frighten him. Others, like Görler and Reijgwart, surmised that Caesar was trying to win the reader's favour in the opening passages, which would necessarily lead the reader to

[12] This is the view both of supporters as of critics of the 'deformation'-hypothesis ('self-display' is the catchword of John Collins, 'Caesar as Political Propagandist', *ANRW* I 1, 1972, 922-966, here: 940). A kind of modification is the hypothesis of Görler, cf. note 13 below.

identification with the whole.[13] Another idea is lulling the reader's distrustful attention, as Mensching supposed regarding the use of the third person for Caesar.[14]

Yet the question how the readership should be affected by a text, cannot be judged without bearing in mind this public itself and its attitude to the reported events. 'Involvement' presupposes — at least to a certain extent — a willing recipiant.

To give an example: When Caesar writes *lingua nostra* any Roman reader can identify himself with this 'we'. A non-Latin reader would not be affected, although this can be left out of consideration as merely hypothetic. The question whether the narrator is homodiegetic or heterodiegetic is unimportant here, *because the language community is not constituted or influenced by the text.*

It is a different matter when the 'we'-community is not defined *per se.* A heterodiegetic narrator can create a sense of community with the reader by using 'we'; this 'we' is rather unequivocal by virtue of his standing outside the narrative. (It is, however, not certain whether the reader will join this community.) A homodiegetic narrator can also do this but additionally he can refer to the community of the other acting figures: the 'we' needs interpretation by the reader. Here as well the reader's status is important for the question of involvement or identification. To give an example: When the narrator of the *Bellum Gallicum* says *itinera nostra,* a senator far away in Rome will read this in quite a different way from someone who accompanied Caesar in Britain. Reading *milites nostri* a companion or a sympathiser of Caesar will accept this 'we', whereas an adversary would rather refuse it, and I do not think frequent repetitions of *nos/noster* would change his attitude.

To sum up: Whether or not the narrator can attract or involve his public by using 'we', is substantially connected with

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[13] According to Görler, this is connected with a change of the narrator's perspective from an involving 'personal' to an impressive 'olympic' view, made possible imperceptibly by the use of the third person for Caesar. Reijgwart maintains that the necessary identification with *nos/noster* in the prooemium ('*lingua nostra*' etc.), once accepted by the reader, induces him to agree with the specialized use in the rest of the narrative as well.

[14] Cf. note 11.

the reader's predisposition and his attitude towards the reported events. It is the narrator's business to provide points of contact, possibilities of identification (hoping the reader will use them) and to orient the story towards the readership he wishes to attract. This latter consideration leads to review the *Bellum Gallicum* from an additional point of view focussing on its content.

The Military World of the Bellum Gallicum

Two aspects seem to be important for our inquiry: the *Bellum Gallicum*'s remarkable unity of content connected with the restriction to military affairs and the way it depicts military persons.

The *Bellum Gallicum* presents a cosmos complete in itself. Caesar confines himself to the depiction of the Gallic campaigns. External affairs nearly do not exist: Vague hints at Caesar's activities during the winter breaks, very few references to Rome, nothing about the events in other parts of the world, of which Crassus' debacle at Carrhae in 53 BC might be the most impressing for the Romans.

As to chronology, the *Bellum Gallicum* is also limited to the period of the seven years of war. Very rare hints give a vague idea of the historical dimension of the war rather than describe it.

Above all, the *Bellum Gallicum* is a world of military. One can see that just by looking at the character set. On the Roman side, there aren't but military people, if not officers or soldiers, then (in a wider sense) army staff, waggoners, slaves or other persons following the troops like the sometimes mentioned *mercatores*. On the Gaulish side, we sometimes hear of civilians, namely farmers, city dwellers, women and children. They stand beside the warriors and the warlords and are, like them, shown as involved in the military actions. The same applies to those Gauls keeping up *hospitium* with Caesar or other Romans who are shown in their military-diplomatic function. The usual denomination of Gauls as *hostes* is military anyway.

According to this, the narrative predominantly deals with military operations. Not only battles (maybe less than commonly supposed) but also other strategic manœuvres are reported such as troop movements often performed under peculiar conditions (forced marches, river crossings, crossing the Cevennes in winter), the soldiers' inventiveness and workmanship (shipbuilding, constructing bridges, siege work), logistics like encampment, supplies and forage, we hear of consultations, reconnaissance, transport of information.

The enemy nations are also interesting mainly in military respect. (A certain exception are the geographic and ethnographic digressions.) They are portrayed as performing only those actions that affect the Romans' actions and as possessing only those features that the Romans have to face in battle. Ethnographic notes do not become an end in itself but characterize the enemy. The special attention paid to 'exotic' fighting techniques of the several nations may serve as an example. The same can be said about geographic and topographic details that always describe the settings of military activities: the situation of a fortified place or of a battlefield, the importance of a mountain range or a river.

A *side theme* are domestic affairs of the Gauls, where the Romans take part as enemies, allies, mediators or just spectators. Here also everything is in connexion with the activities of the Roman army in Gaul. Significantly, nothing is said about the fate of Caesar's antagonists, as soon as their immediate importance for the war has faded away (e.g. Ariovistus), a fact that need not (and certainly does not) correspond to their real function among the Gauls.

Let us resume: The author has no interest in describing the Gallic war completely or systematically as a modern historian would try to do. The narrative sticks to the perspective of the progressing discoverers and conquerors. Almost schematically, the single military operations cause the enemy to surrender, to turn over the weapons, to give hostages — and then? Together with the soldiers the story goes on to the next task, one action follows the other. What disappears from the army's sight, is of no more importance for the narrative.

The picture of the predominant figure Caesar is also limited to military functions. He was busy in many a field during the years 58 to 52 BC, but only a very small part of his activities is shown in the *Bellum Gallicum.* He mainly seems to be a responsible military leader and at the same time a brave soldier. The office of the proconsul, by virtue of which Caesar held the *imperium,* is not mentioned even once. Of his civil duties very little is told; this is all the more striking, as Caesar was governor of three provinces (as we know from other sources; from the *Bellum Gallicum* it could not be deduced). Certain diplomatic activities are mentioned but altogether the picture of Caesar interfering with the subdued *ciuitates* remains blurred and is specified only in few cases. Another important trait the *Bellum Gallicum* does not show at all is Caesar as a politician, enjoying a great authority among the *populares* and consul before the war. Not even those efforts that are immediately connected with the Gallic enterprise have left visible traces: the triumvirate with Pompey and Crassus, its renovation in 55 BC, the prolongation of Caesar's command, which had to be obtained every year for the Gallia Transalpina and which was utterly at stake in 55 BC. One might also think about an explicite dispute with his adversaries at Rome, who certainly criticized Caesar's arbitrary actions and especially his setbacks. Some have thought (maybe not without plausibility) that parts of the *Bellum Gallicum* must be read as 'answer' to such reproaches — the text itself does not contain any openly justifying word. Carefully avoided is also Caesar as a private person and most of his character traits (well known to us e.g. from Cicero) are omitted completely. Instead, he stresses his new sides, that had not developed until the Gallic war to what is familiar to us.

We have to ask now for whom Caesar drew this picture of the Gallic war and of himself. If one compares the *Bellum Gallicum* with contemporary Roman literature it strikes one that the *Bellum Gallicum* contains very few references to Rome. Cicero's speech *de prouinciis consularibus* held in 56 BC shows us what had to be said to the senate, if one wished to present the Gallic enterprise in the most advantageous way. Compared

to this speech the peculiarity of the *Bellum Gallicum* stands out in relief: Cicero in the passages concerned mainly emphasizes the historical-geographical dimension of the traditional Gallic problem; above all, everything he says is related to Rome. Very little of this can be found in the *Bellum Gallicum*. Military matters, however, the main subject of the *Bellum Gallicum*, do not play a part in front of the senate. Thus Cicero's speech and the *Bellum Gallicum* do not seem to aim at the same set of expectations.

In this connexion, the second aspect becomes important: The military is not only the predominant theme of the *Bellum Gallicum*, but it is also depicted and pointed out in a remarkable manner. As very instructive, I pick out the centurions. The reader of the *Bellum Gallicum* gets the impression that they play an important part in that war and the short scenes (sometimes called 'vignettes' by modern scholars), where centurions are presented as outstanding examples of military virtue and ethos, have attracted the interpreters' attention. Yet two features have not been considered sufficiently so far. First, on the one hand, in these scenes the narrator changes his way of telling from the usually quite abstract way of telling to a detailed and vivid report (some of them even get one of the very rare direct speeches), on the other, these scenes are entirely superfluous for the movement of the story. Secondly, this way of portraying centurions is quite uncommon e.g. in Roman historiography, where the military leaders tend to be the exclusive responsible. Yet in the *Bellum Gallicum*, none of the 'officers' (except Caesar himself) is given an equivalent *aristeia* like Pullo, Vorenus or Baculus. Pointing out 'little people' and idealizing them almost as luminous figures is unique and not to be found before Caesar. The image of centurions, on the contrary, is usually rather dark in Roman literature. Here again we have to ask what kind of readership Caesar had in mind.

Yet it must be emphasized that the *Bellum Gallicum* does not serve to explain the military events to people who are completely ignorant of these things. The rather abstract way of telling mostly suppresses details that are necessary for a

proper understanding. Without basic knowledge of military organization and procedures, of personnel and — to a certain extent — of the topography of Gaul the picture of the Gallic war remains blurred. One just has to look at a modern commentary to see, with how much effort scholars have tried to reconstruct these preconditions.

A Successful Army — from the Point of View of Domestic Policy

To sum up, the *Bellum Gallicum* is restricted to a mainly military content, seven years in Gaul, with only very few references to Rome. The picture of Caesar is limited to the role he plays as the military head of the Gallic enterprise. Things are not described systematically, but the narrative sticks to the events and progresses from one incident to the next. The way of telling is usually quite abstract, so that some previous knowledge is needed to understand and imagine things properly. On the other hand, sometimes the narrative becomes immediate and vivid, especially in those passages where military ethos is displayed by *exempla*. Yet pointing out subaltern ranks and, what is more, describing them positively, is quite uncommon in Roman literature before Caesar. As a result of the narratological analysis we bear in mind that the narrator speaks from a participant's point of view (blurring that it is mostly Caesar's own) and offers the reader to join this community by the use of 'we'. We must bear these facts in mind when thinking about a probable 'political' purpose of the *Bellum Gallicum.*

I omit discussion here of what formerly has been supposed — usually without taking the text itself as a starting point — concerning the target group of the *Bellum Gallicum.* Scholars have thought of 'the people of Rome' or, less vaguely, of certain social groups, such as senators, equestrians or the *plebs urbana,* while others have excluded just these groups from being possible targets with different explanations. Nearly all of them suppose the *Bellum Gallicum* was witten for a more or less

hostile public. Yet in a recent essay, Barbara Levick briefly appreciated the *Bellum Gallicum* as „designed not to convert, but to tell people what they want to hear“ and stressed the idea that it is addressed to a multi-layered public.[15]

This point deserves attention. The narrative strategy of the *Bellum Gallicum* is, as we saw above, not to confront the reader, but to involve him. But a second moment must be added that has not been appreciated sufficiently in this connexion so far. In Rome, an external military success was important in terms of domestic policy in a specific way. This can e. g. be seen from the following text which I quote from Cicero's speech *pro Murena* dating from 63 BC. Cicero explains why Murena (who had been *legatus* in the army of Lucullus) had excellent chances to win the consular elections (*Pro Mur.* 37f.):

> nam et L. Luculli exercitus, qui ad triumphum conuenerat idem, comitiis L. Murenae praesto fuit [...]. num tibi haec parua uidentur adiumenta et subsidia consulatus, uoluntas militum, quaeque cum per se ualet multitudine, cum apud suos gratia, tum uero in consule declarando multum etiam apud uniuersum populum Romanum auctoritatis habet, suffragatio militaris? imperatores enim comitiis consularibus, non uerborum interpretes deliguntur. qua re grauis est illa oratio: „me saucium recreauit, me praeda donauit; hoc duce castra cepimus, signa contulimus; numquam iste plus militi laboris imposuit quam sibi sumpsit, ipse cum fortis tum etiam felix.“ hoc quanti putas esse ad famam hominum ac uoluntatem?

The *punctum saliens* is the fact that — at that time — all legionnaires were Roman citizens as well. Cicero shows clearly how valuable a capital was the faithfulness of soldiers to their leader and that the *suffragatio militaris* was not only common but also respected practise at Rome. The *grauis oratio* he 'cites' even in direct speech makes clear that it was the feeling of fellowship based on common memories that could be turned into votes at the *comitia*.

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[15] B. Levick, *The Veneti Revisited. C. E. Stevens and the Tradition on Caesar the Propagandist*, in: Kathryn Welch / Anton Powell (edd.), *Julius Caesar as Artful Reporter. The War Commentaries as Political Instrument*, London 1998, p. 72sq.

It is well known that Caesar, like Murena, used the political weight of his soldiers. We know that he sent soldiers on leave to Rome during the winter break, so that with their votes they could decide elections according to his wishes. In contrast to Pompey, Caesar didn't have an inherited multitude of clients. Historians agree that his interactions with the army also have to be assessed in terms of creating an independent body of clients, while in Rome the cards had already been dealt.

Caesar recognized the potential of his soldiers' fellowship that developed during the years in Gaul and cultivated it, doubtlessly, by means such as speeches, money gifts and other kinds of reward. In the *Bellum civile* he describes himself as invoking this fellowship and its success on the evening before the civil war (*BC* 1,7,7-8):

> hortatur, cuius imperatoris ductu VIIII annis rem publicam felicissime gesserint plurimaque proelia secunda fecerint, omnem Galliam Germaniamque pacauerint, ut eius existimationem dignitatemque ab inimicis defendant.
> conclamant legionis XIII, quae aderat, milites — hanc enim initio tumultus euocauerat, reliquae nondum conuenerant — sese paratos esse imperatoris sui tribunorumque plebis iniurias defendere.

Faithfulness of his centurions and veterans accompanied and supported him during the civil war. Caesar called upon them both in war and in civil affairs. After the war some of them were even admitted into the senate.

Given this background, let us pass to the question of why Caesar took the trouble to write a book about the Gallic war. The comparison with Cicero's *Murena* shows close parallels: The conquest of Gaul was an utterly successful enterprise. It was celebrated in Rome and the granted *supplicationes* were unheard-of. It was the success of Caesar and of his legions. The reader of the *Bellum Gallicum* is told its story and is invited by the narrative to be a part of the enterprise — irrespective of the question whether he was a real participiant or not. On a certain level, the *Bellum Gallicum* can be read as an extended version of the *grauis oratio* given to Murena's soldiers, which

influenced the soldiers themselves as well as their firends and relatives (*uoluntas militum, quaeque cum per se ualet multitudine, cum apud suos gratia,* as Cicero says).

A writing about the Gallic war describing a binding experience inevitably had to strenghten the bond (and probably increase the number) of Caesar's followers. Therefore, it is not crucial that we do not know how exactly this text was published and spread. Exact knowledge of the general reading ability is difficult to estimate, anyhow, because at this period testimonies are sparse, and some scholars are rather sceptic about it. But other effective ways of proliferation, such as reading publicly or retelling, can be postulated as well. The number of people who could be reached thus runs into several hundreds, even if we only consider legates, tribunes and centurions (which is clearly more than the members of the senate, who have been thought of as addressees of the *Bellum Gallicum*), or even into thousands and thousands, if we add the soldiers and those who are involved in some other way. With regard to the usual circulation pattern that can be supposed for Roman literature, this is a rather broad effect and would seem worthwile. It is compatible with our knowledge of Caesar as experimenting on the field of writings as mass medium, as stated at the beginning of this essay.

Conclusion

This interpretation that stresses the importance of soldiers for Caesar and his politics, is not to call the *Bellum Gallicum* a sort of soldiers' adventure story. This is at most one aspect, though maybe not the least important, and maybe more important than usually assumed. Good propaganda is always multi-layered and typically offers more than one point of contact to the readers. The *Bellum Gallicum* with its relatively abstract narrative avoids to commit itself rigidly to a certain reader. It rather offers a framework to which the readers can tie their personal experiences; outsiders are also invited to join and to read the story with sympathetic participation, as long as they are willing to do so. The broad social range in Caesar's fellow-

ship, from the senatorial legate to the common legionnaire, must be kept in mind. Each member of these different groups could find something interesting to them. (The corresponding spread of the actual readership as reflected by the writings of the *Corpus Caesarianum* should be mentioned at this point.[16]) The means to reach that are on the level of narrative technique: beside the abstractness of the report that becomes concrete and vivid only from time to time, it is above all the choice of a particular narrative situation and narrator's point of view. It wouldn't be exaggerated to say that the result in a certain way affects readers up to this day.

[16] The so-called 'post-Caesarian *bella*' comprised by the *Corpus Caesarianum*, which more or less successfully try to imitate Caesar's style, are inconceivable without a thorough knowledge of the model. So they have to be taken as immediate and contemporary evidence of reception — the only one beside the famous mention in Cicero's *Brutus* 262, which cannot be discussed here for reasons of space. These are writings of quite different quality, whose authors represent the spread of a real readership, from general Hirtius, who supposedly wrote the eigth book of the BG and maybe the *bellum Alexandrinum*, to the author of the *bellum Hispaniense*, who betrays himself as a lower rank by his worm's-eye view, his clumsy style and, not in the least, by grammatical errors.

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EPIC PROPHECY AS IMPERIAL PROPAGANDA? JUPITER'S FIRST SPEECH IN VIRGIL'S *AENEID*

Karl A.E. Enenkel

Introduction

Ever since Adam Parry introduced his theory of the 'two voices' in Virgil, the issue of the political agenda of the *Aeneid* never ceased to be under discussion.[1] Does Virgil glorify Roman imperialism as designed by Augustus (and, if so, to what extent) or does he criticise it (and, if so, to what extent)? Parry and his followers (including Kenneth Quinn, Michael Putnam, Robert Lyne, and James O'Hara[2]) emphasized the critical attitude and identified it with Virgil's personal opinion. For them, Virgil focuses predominantly on the victims of Roman imperialism, such as Dido, the Rutuli, Turnus, and defends their position. Others do not agree with this interpretation. They ascribe to the *Aeneid* a positive political message, which they, too, identify with Virgil's personal opinion, in a way that is, as for its method, very similar to the one used by adherents of the 'two voices' theory. Antoine Wlosok, e.g., in her otherwise rich and inspiring study *Die Göttin Venus*, explicitly makes a distinction between Octavian's/ Augustus' propaganda and Virgil's political message in the *Aeneid*. For her, Virgil does not bluntly give voice to Octavian's political aims with "bloße Herrscherpanegyrik", but rather gives his own personal interpretation of (contemporary) history, which is a magnificent

[1] A. Parry, 'The Two Voices in Vergil's Aeneid', *Arion* 2, 1963, 266-280.

[2] K. Quinn, *Virgil's Aeneid*, Londen 1968; M.C.J. Putnam, *Vergil's Aeneid. Interpretation and Influence*, Chapel Hill and London 1995; R.O.A.M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid*, New York and London 1987; James J. O'Hara, *Death and the Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil's* Aeneid, Princeton 1989.

concept, an *idea*, viz. the "Reichs- und Friedensgedanke".[3] It is obvious that Parry and his followers have problems with imperialism as such, which they consider to be ethically reprehensible. For them, a great poet like Virgil is unlikely to have been a primitive panegyrist of a morally questionable system. Wlosok and other (predominantly German) scholars have problems not so much with imperialism, but rather with the phenomenon of the panegyric, which they consider to be a morally abject genre. For them it is inconceivable that a true poet would stoop to "eitle Herrscherpanegyrik".[4] Fortunately, in recent years also a less biased approach to the political context of the *Aeneid* developed, partly visible in the collection of essays edited by Hans-Peter Stahl (1998).[5] Independently a new and specific interest in the theme of Roman propaganda has arisen.[6]

When discussing the political agenda of Virgil's *Aeneid*, the three 'Roman' prophecies in the first, sixth[7] and eighth book[8] naturally play a pivotal role. Currently the question as to their function (literary and political), their content and intention is very much under discussion. Does Virgil in these prophecies offer the reader a kind of guideline of the interpretation of the whole work (and if so, what is the character of his political message)? Or are these prophecies deceptive and false, and does Virgil aim at sowing in his readers' minds the seeds of

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[3] A. Wlosok, *Die Göttin Venus in Vergils Aeneis* (*Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Neue Folge, 2. Reihe, vol. 21), Heidelberg 1967, 63 (with respect to Jupiter's prophecy): "Seine (viz. Virgils) Intention bei der Behauptung der göttlichen Abstammung der Julier ließe sich eher als Protest gegen *eitle Panegyrik* begreifen. Denn in Wahrheit *ordnet* er zu Beginn seines Epos durch den Mund Juppiters [...] das ganze kaiserliche Geschlecht *dem Reichs- und Friedensgedanken unter*" (my italics).

[4] Cf. phrases like "eitle Panegyrik" or "bloße Herrscherpanegyrik" (Wlosok, *Die Göttin Venus*, 63), implying that panegyrics are something vane, unworthy of the true poet.

[5] *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context*, London-Swansea 1998.

[6] Cf. the Introduction to this volume.

[7] Cf. William J. Dominik, 'Reading Vergil's *Aeneid*: the Gates of Sleep (VI 893-91)', *Maia* 48, 1996, 129-138.

[8] Cf. R. Faber, 'Vergil's Shield of Aeneas (*Aeneid* 8.617-731) and the Shield of Hercules', *Mnemosyne* 53, 2000, 49-70; U. Eigler, 'Vergil, Aeneis 8,625: Servius und die römische Geschichte bei Vergil', *Aevum* 68, 1994, 147ff.

subversive thoughts, in order to discredit Augustan imperialism?

In this paper an attempt will be made to clarify these questions concerning Jupiter's prophecy in *Aeneid* I, 257ff. and to offer a new overall interpretation of the passage, integrating the many mosaic stones of questions of detail.

Let us first have a quick look at the literary context of the passage: after Aeneas' shipwreck, the loss of men in the heavy storm and the unexpected and scary landing at the Libyan coast, his upset mother Venus takes action, turns to god-father Jupiter and asks him whether he has changed the plans of *Fatum*: will Aeneas ever reach the new fatherland, will he ever found the Roman people, the future lords of the world, as it was promised? Why to punish Aeneas' Trojans double and trice, in such an outrageous manner? When will the end of all troubles come? Will Aeneas and his men ever enjoy peace, as other Trojans, like Antenor, do? In his answer Jupiter offers Venus a glimpse of future:

'Parce metu, Cytherea, manent immota tuorum
Fata tibi; cernes urbem et promissa Lavini
Moenia sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli
Magnanimum Aenean; neque me sententia vertit.
Hic tibi (fabor enim, quando haec te cura remordet,
Longius, et volvens fatorum arcana movebo)
Bellum ingens geret Italia populosque ferocis
Contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet,
Tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas
Ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.
At puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo
Additur (Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno),
Triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbis
Imperio explebit regnumque ab sede Lavini
Transferet et Longam multa vi muniet Albam.
Hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos
Gente sub Hectorea, donec regina sacerdos
Marte gravis geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.
Inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus
Romulus excipiet gentem et Mavortia condet
Moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet.
His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono:
Imperium sine fine dedi. Quin aspera Iuno,

Quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
Consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit
Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.
Sic placitum. Veniet lustris labentibus aetas,
Cum domus Assarici Pthiam clarasque Mycenas
Servitio premet ac victis dominabitur Argis.
Nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,
Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,
Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.
Hunc tu olim caelo spoliis Orientis onustum
Accipies secura; vocabitur hic quoque votis.
Aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis:
Cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
Iura dabunt: dirae ferro et compagibus artis
Claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus
Saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis
Post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.'

This passage raises a series of questions. In the first place, of course: did Virgil compose this prophecy as a means to steer the reader's interpretation of the *Aeneid* as a whole? And if so, in what way? Or did Virgil construct a misleading prophecy, in order to express his personal doubts and to sow in his readers' minds the seeds of subversive political thought? Which concept of Roman history does Virgil give in this passage and how should one interpret it? Does the passage reflect Octavian's propaganda or a personal, Virgilian concept? In which way is the passage composed and what is the impact of the composition on the interpretation? And, connected to these questions: who is the Caesar of lines 286ff., the dictator or Octavian? Egil Kraggerud has made a strong and very outspoken case for Octavian, but more recently Robert Dobbin, in his article 'Julius Caesar in Jupiter's Prophecy, *Aeneid*, Book 1', has argued even more extensively in favour of Julius Caesar.[9] If the dictator is meant, Virgil's possible propagandistic endeavour gets, of course, a quite different outlook. Consensus is far away for all these questions.

[9] E. Kraggerud, 'Which Julius Caesar? On *Aen.* 1,286-296', *Symbolae Osloenses* 67, 1992, 103-112; Dobbin's article in: *Classical Antiquity* 14, 1995, 5-40.

Jupiter's Speech as Deceptive Prophecy

In his stimulating book on the prophecies in the *Aeneid*,[10] James O'Hara, an adherent of the 'two voices' theory, tries to prove that all prophecies in the *Aeneid* are deceptive, including the three 'Roman prophecies.'[11] Moreover, he argues that Virgil speaks with his personal voice in these prophecies, providing certain clues that enable the reader to understand this. In his interpretation of Jupiter's prophecy, O'Hara was stimulated by the ideas of Robert Lyne, who also questioned Jupiter's words in his *Further Voices in Virgil's Aeneid*.[12] Lyne identified Jupiter's voice as yet another 'voice' in Virgil's *Aeneid*: "Jupiter possesses a will that is identifiable with Fate, but he is still a god with feelings, affections, emotions, intentions besides his 'grand intention'. And his intention in 256ff. is primarily to comfort Venus, to soothe his querulous daughter."[13] O'Hara argues, as Lyne does, that Jupiter pursues a primarily *rhetorical* goal in his prophecy. He soothes Venus and deceits her. According to Lyne and O'Hara Virgil has included "inconsistencies" in Jupiter's speech, in order to enable the reader to "unmask" it.

The first inconsistency, according to O'Hara, occurs in lines 263-4: *Bellum ingens geret Italia populosque ferocis/ contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet*, which he interprets as imparting that Aeneas 'will conquer and civilize' the wilde people of Italy. In other words, in O'Hara's interpretation the *populi feroces* in line 263 are the same as the *viri* in line 264. O'Hara connects this interpretation with the contents of books VII-XII of the *Aeneid* and concludes that Aeneas, although he con-

[10] *Death and Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil's* Aeneid, Princeton 1990.

[11] For the three Roman prophecies see O'Hara, 128-175 (chapter four 'The Prophecies of Rome' and appendix to chapter four 'The Shield of Aeneas').

[12] Lyne, *Further Voices*, 79 ff.: "Why, therefore, does Jupiter speak so misleadingly?"

[13] *Further Voices*, 81.

quered the Rutuli, clearly did not incorporate them into his town.[14] Therefore, says O'Hara, the prophecy is deceptive.

In lines 267-273 Jupiter suggests, according to O'Hara, that the direct offspring of Ascanius will reign over Alba Longa.[15] O'Hara insists that in actual fact the offspring of Aeneas' Italian son Aeneas Silvius were the kings of Alba Longa, quoting *Aeneid* VI, lines 763-766, as evidence.[16] He concludes that Virgil has again inserted a deceptive element in the prophecy in order to steer his reader to unmasking it as false.

He goes on by observing that Virgil emphasizes the role of the Romulus and Remus story in Jupiter's sketch of Roman history.[17] For him, this is yet another clue that Virgil intends to undermine Jupiter's prophecy. For the Romulus and Remus story, according to O'Hara, was in Augustan poetry generally connected to civil war and had therefore a negative connotation.[18] This makes it very odd that Virgil mentions the story twice, in lines 275ff. and in lines 292-293. For O'Hara, this can only mean that Virgil wanted to demonstrate that Augustus' ideology of *pax* was entirely untrustworthy and that no real peace was achieved nor was likely to be ever achieved.

O'Hara's final point is the ambiguity in lines 286ff., which may refer to the dictator or to Octavian.[19] "It is odd," says O'Hara, "that a passage of such significance has been constructed so that its opening lines, 286-290, would inevitably be the source of endless critical disagreement."[20] This is all the more odd since Virgil was perfectly able to refer to Augustus unambiguously if he had wished to. But, O'Hara concludes,

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[14] O'Hara, 141: "Instead of imposing walls on the people he has conquered, Aeneas says in the same speech that he will have his men build a separate city for him: *mihi moenia Teucri/ constituent* (12.193-194 'the Trojans will build walls for me')."

[15] O'Hara, 145 ff.

[16] O'Hara, 146-7: "The inconsistency between what Jupiter implies about the role of Ascanius here and what Anchises says about Silvius in the underworld."

[17] O'Hara, 151 ff.

[18] O'Hara, 153: "References to Romulus in Augustan verse generally suggest fratricide and civil war", referring to David Ross jr., *Virgil's Elements: Physics and Poetry in the* Georgics, Princeton 1987, 127.

[19] O'Hara, 155-163.

[20] O'Hara, 156.

Virgil deliberately implanted this ambiguity in order to question the prophecy.[21]

The Prophecy and Rhetoric

The argument that points out the rhetorical character of the passage is based on the correct and helpful observation that Jupiter gives his prophecy in order to soothe the worried Venus. However, for a better understanding of the passage a more complete analysis of its rhetoric is required.

Virgil's contemporary readers must have been well aware of the rhetorical tendency of Jupiter's speech. The ancient commentators share their rhetorical sensitivity. Servius correctly comments that Jupiter's speech is, technically spoken, a *consolatio,* and that this rhetorical focus helps us to understand the details of the argument: *Incongruum fuerat in consolatione dolenti bella praedicere: ob hoc ergo etiam victoriam pollicetur* (*ad* 263-264: 'It would have been inadequate in a *consolatio* to promise nothing but war to someone in pain; therefore he also promises victory').[22]

In his note on the opening line of Jupiter's speech (257) Servius gives a short account of Jupiter's rhetorical strategy. First of all, Servius says, Jupiter must attempt to neutralize his opponent's objections, if he wants to present his message successfully: *quotiens in causis arguimur, ante nos purgare debemus, et sic ad actionem descendere, quod et hoc loco Iupiter facit. Ante enim obiecta purgat, et sic venit ad promissionem* ('Whenever we argue in juridical cases, we must first get rid of the objections of our opponents, and than drive our own points home. This is what Jupiter does here. For first he gets

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[21] O'Hara, 162-163.

[22] O'Hara, 139, gives more examples of rhetorical comment in Servius, although only connected to *consolatio* (*ad Aen.* II, 776; VI, 763; VIII, 61). Servius' rhetorical interpretation of the *Aeneid* is of course not limited to consolatory speeches. However, Servius does not interpret the structure of Jupiter's speech in terms of a technical *consolatio.* He considers the dichotomy between *purgatio* (1) and positive message (2; *promissio*) as more important for its strategical structure (*ad* I,257). O'Hara, surprisingly, does not refer to these lines (see below).

rid of the objections and then proceeds to give his promises').[23] Rhetorical interpretations of this kind are by no means a idiosyncracy of late antiquity. Rhetoric is a constant factor in all of antiquity and therefore it is safe to assume that Virgil's contemporary readers, too, will have understood the rhetorical character of Jupiter's speech.

A strong point can be made in favour of the assumption that Virgil, in his composition of Jupiter's speech, took the rhetorical interest of his readership into account. However, I cannot concur with O'Hara's conclusions, because I do not believe that Virgil's readers were inclined to consider Jupiter's prophecy as less authoritative *because* it is imbedded in a rhetorical context; that they would have thought: 'oh, this is rhetorical, so it is false.' Such an attitude is anachronistic. I think that, quite on the contrary, Virgil's audience will have appreciated the prophecy all the more *because* it provides an adequate response to a given rhetorical problem.

Given the specific rhetorical situation, not a single ancient reader would have expected Jupiter to give an exhausitive and balanced overview of future Roman history; no ancient reader would expect him to include, apart from victories and grand achievements, future difficulties and defeats. Why should he mention that Rome will be conquered several times, by the Etruscans and by the Celts? Why should he mention the difficulties and heavy losses of the Samnitic wars? Why should he mention Hannibal's conquering of Italy? Why Cannae? Why the bloody wars with the Italian allies? Why the riots of Spartacus and Catilina? Why the bloody civil wars between Marius and Sulla, Caesar and Pompey, Octavian and Marc Anthony?

If Jupiter had deliverd a speech that incorporates these setbacks, he would exactly have lost his credibility because he would have created a strange *ethos* of himself, characterized by a lack of tact and *pietas*. A man who did not act according to the social requirements of given rhetorical situations, defined by the concepts of *aptum* and *pietas*, was not likely to get any credit among an audience of ancient Romans. In other

[23] Another example is Servius's comment on line 267, an appreciation of Virgil's skill to present the facts in a rhetorically effective way: *prudenter exitum Aeneae et ostendit et tacuit dicendo filium postea regnaturum.*

words: Virgil consciously describes Jupiter as acting according to the social situation, *because, for his audience, this was the only suitable and acceptable way of acting*. Thus, Jupiter's way of arguing does not detract from his credibility in the slightest degree.

However, the rhetorical drift of the passage is not always appreciated. Karl Galinsky in his *Augustan Culture* (1996), e.g., does not interpret Jupiter's rhetorical intention as *consolatio*, but, almost in the opposite way, as a speech in which Jupiter "dismisses Venus' *Biedermeier* ideal of a placid recreation of the Trojan existence [...] and places the emphasis on the ongoing *labores* of Aeneas."[24] In this he follows Wlosok, who argued that Jupiter tells Venus mainly about the future difficulties and *labores* of Roman history:[25] "Die Worte Jupiters geben deutlich zu verstehen, daß es sich um eine harte Aufgabe handelt. Ihre Verwirklichung vollzieht sich unter Kampf und Gefahr, Anstrengung und Entsagung, kurz unter dem, was in der *Aeneis* so oft als *labores* bezeichnet ist."[26] In her interpretation of Jupiter's message Wlosok refers to the mythical example of Hercules.[27] She interprets the epic epithet *magnanimus,* applied to Aeneas in line 260, as a reference to the "Römertugenden" *fortitudo* and *patientia,* badly needed to endure the difficulties Jupiter foretells.[28] Wlosok emphasizes that Virgil does not ascribe a "Friedenszustand" to Aeneas. She interprets the verb *contundere*, used in the phrase that says that Aeneas 'will crush wild people' (*populosque ferocis/ contundet,* 263-4), as referring to "langwierige Anstrengung."[29]

I do not agree with Wlosok's and Galinsky's interpretation. Jupiter does not emphasize future difficulties and dangers, but, quite on the contrary, attempts to pass them over tactfully in silence. He puts forward only successes and achievements. Moreover, there is not a single allusion to Hercules in this passage. It is not convincing that the epithet *magnanimus* implies

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[24] *Augustan Culture*, Princeton 1996, 124.
[25] *Die Göttin Venus*, 65-70.
[26] *Ibid.*, 65.
[27] *Ibid.*, 66-67.
[28] *Ibid.*, 68.
[29] *Ibid.*, 69.

future troubles or the specific virtue needed to endure troubles, as it is a translation of the Homeric *megathymos.*[30] Although it is true that Virgil does not use the word *pax* with respect to Aeneas, he does underscore Aeneas' victory (*contundet,* 264, 'will crush'; *Rutulis subactis,* 266, 'after he will have defeated the Rutuli'). It can be explained why Virgil does not use *pax* in connection with Aeneas: he clearly reserves the achievement of general peace for Octavian, who surpasses Aeneas in this respect. *Contundet* does not connote a "langwierige Anstrengung", but the definitive character of Aeneas' victory.[31] Nor can proud Venus be accused of being a wide-eyed *Biedermeier* lass (whatever that could have meant to Virgil), wanting only a nice, careless and idyllic existence for her poor son. Virgil's contemporary readers considered Venus to be a noble and highly political goddess, the ancestress of the Julian house (cf. Fig. 4), who was celebrated in the temple of Venus Genetrix erected by Julius Caesar in 46 BC.[32] Here she acts according to her status: the fact that she is worried is perfectly understandable for the contemporary reader. Her state of mind is entirely justified by the situation, which seems very dangerous indeed, if not hopeless.

I think it is possible to gain a more precise understanding of the rhetorical *inventio* and the composition of the speech. For this purpose, it is necessary to take Venus' preceding speech in consideration (lines 229-253). Three issues dominate her speech: first, her fear that *fatum* has been changed;[33] second, her doubt whether Aeneas will really found the Roman peo-

[30] Cf. Austin's note *ad loc.* (p. 101).

[31] Cf. Liv. XL, 52: *Classis Antiochi victa, fusa, contusa fugataque est*; Silius, *Pun.* IV, 706-708: *Boiorum nuper populos turbaverat armis/ Flaminius, facilisque viro tum gloria belli/ Corde levem atque astus inopem contundere gentem.* In both cases, obviously, *contundere* is not used to denote a difficult victory achieved by a "langwierige Anstrengung", but a quick and definitive, in Silius' case even an extremely easy victory. The passage in Silius is especially illustrative, since he used our passage in the *Aeneid* as an example.

[32] Wlosok is perfectly right when she elaborates these aspects in another part of her book, 117ff. ("in Übereinstimmung mit der römischen Venustheologie").

[33] *Aen.* I, 237: *quae te, genitor, sententia vertit?*

ple, the future lords of the world, as it was promised;[34] third, her plea for peace: when will Aeneas be allowed to live in peace as other Trojans already do?[35]

If one analyses Jupiter's speech, it appears that the selection and presentation of facts is entirely directed at Venus' three main issues. First, Jupiter answers to her first issue by demonstrating that Fate has not been changed (*manent immota tuorum/ Fata tibi*, 257) and that Aeneas will reach his goal, the promised land,[36] a town called Lavinium.[37] The second issue divides into two different questions: Will Aeneas be able to found the Roman people? And will they really become the future lords of the world?

With respect to the former question Jupiter is compelled to admit that Aeneas will not found the Roman people directly; to explain that first he will found a town in Latium called Lavinium; furthermore, that his son will succeed him and reign over Lavinium, while Rome still remains to be founded; that after a while Aeneas' son Iulus will transfer the Trojan dominance to a new town, called Alba Longa; that only after about three centuries Rome will be founded by an offspring of the Trojans called Romulus. This story is neither easy to tell nor in itself automatically convincing.

The latter question requires even more pomp and circumstance: how and when will the Romans become the lords of the world? It would be preposterous to maintain that Aeneas and his Trojans are destined to rule the world, or Iulus and the regime of Alba Longa, or the other Alban kings, or Romulus. Therefore, Virgil's Jupiter is compelled to select his historical facts extremely carefully. In his *inventio* he focuses on two

[34] Cf. the indignant, sarcastic lines I, 234-237: *Certe hinc Romanos olim volventibus annis,/ Hinc fore ductores, revocato a sanguine Teucri,/ Qui mare, qui terras omnis dicione tenerent,/ Pollicitus* [...].

[35] I, 241-253: *Quem das finem, rex magne laborum?/ Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achivis/ Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus/ Regna Liburnorum et fontem superare Timavi/* [...] / *Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi sedesque locavit/ Teucrorum et genti nomen dedit armaque fixit/ Troia, nunc PLACIDA COMPOSTUS PACE QUIESCIT./ Nos, tua progenies* [...] / *Prodimur atque Italis longe disiungimur oris* [...].

[36] Servius, in his note *ad loc.*, called this rhetorical strategy a *purgatio*; cf. above.

[37] I, 258f. *cernes urbem et promissa Lavini/ Moenia.*

aspects only: the Roman victory over Greece and the victories of the Caesar mentioned in lines 286ff. Especially that 'Caesar' is presented as the fulfilment of Venus' wishes: he has recently achieved an enormous victory, as he returns to Rome loaded with the 'spoils of the East' (*spoliis orientis onustum*, 289); his *imperium* has no borders except the Ocean, the *non plus ultra* of the ancient world.

With respect to Venus' third issue, the plea for PEACE, Jupiter selects the closing of the gates of Janus in 29 BC (as a sign of universal peace) as the ultimate achievement of Roman history. This implies that Venus' plea for peace has been answered only in Virgil's own days.

As the result of this short inquiry into the rhetorical *inventio* of the speech one can state that Jupiter's selection of facts is utterly effective to prove wrong Venus' three causes of fear and doubt. Jupiter says exactly what he must say.

The formal organisation/*dispositio* of the speech reflects this *inventio*. Venus' strongest doubt (issue 1) must be tackled immediately. Therefore, the argument that deals with that issue is presented as an introduction. In rhetorical theory, it was considered as an important virtue of a *prooemium*, to grasp the essence of the problem immediately. Thus, Cicero praises prefaces with an argument *ex ipsis visceribus causae*. With respect to Jupiter's speech Wlosok correctly remarks: "Ohne Umschweife greift Jupiter die Hauptursache der Angst und Beunruhigung der Göttin heraus."[38]

Concerning the formal organisation of the speech, one can detect a remarkable parallelism between the first part (after the introduction) that deals with Aeneas (part A: 258-266: 9 lines) and the final part of the speech that deals with the Caesar who, as will be argued below, must be identified with Octavian (part B: 286-296: 11 lines).[39] It is precisely this parallelism

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[38] *Die Göttin Venus*, 62. Surprisingly, Wlosok did not take this formal introduction into account in her analysis of the formal composition of the speech (*ibid*. 63-65).

[39] Wlosok, *Die Göttin Venus*, 65 correctly states: "Die Aussagen über beide sind parallel gehalten. Schematisch betrachtet umfassen sie Herrschaft, Taten und Apotheose", But Wlosok describes the composition *of the whole speech* ("das Ganze") as symmetrical ("symmetrisch", 63), with the most important part in the middle of the speech. This analysis does not seem

that enables Virgil's Jupiter to answer the second part of Venus' second issue, as well as her third one, in a most effective way. In part A Aeneas has achieved a decisive victory over *populi feroces*; although this is not yet domination of the world, it can be considered as its starting point. In part B the Caesar (Octavian) is presented as the teleological fulfilment of Aeneas' first victory: the promised domination of the world (*imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris*). The same parallel is relevant to the third issue (peace): in part A Aeneas has achieved an important peace by his victory over the *populi feroces*; in part B Octavian is mentioned as Aeneas' teleological fulfilment: he will achieve universal peace, culminating in the closing of the gates of Janus: *dirae ferro et compagibus artis/ Claudentur Belli portae* (293-294).

This formal organisation, the parallelism between part A and B, innocent as it may seem at first sight, has an enormous propagandistic impact: *Octavian appears to Virgil's audience as the new Aeneas and as the fulfilment of Roman destiny*. He has brought everything that Aeneas has started to its final and ideal end. I will come back to this below.

Between the two parallel parts of the speech Virgil's Jupiter deals with the first question of Venus' second issue (265-282), the complicated connection between Aeneas' reign and the foundation of Rome by Romulus. It is worth noticing that about three centuries (between Aeneas and Romulus) are told in only 16 lines, and that the even larger remaining part of Roman history (between Romulus and Augustus), about 700 years, is condensed in only two and a half lines (283-285).

Wlosok describes the composition of the speech as symmetrical: "Das Ganze ist symmetrisch gebaut, hat eine eindeutig bestimmbare Mitte, um die sich die übrigen Teile in mehreren, einander quantitativ und inhaltlich entsprechenden

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plausible to me (see below). G. Highet, *The Speeches in Virgil's Aeneid*, Princeton 1972, 99, also recognized the parallelism between Aeneas and Octavian. But he too, like Wlosok, interpreted the general composition of the speech as symmetrical (Chinese box) (see below).

Schalen legen."[40] With this she refers to the compositional 'Schalenprinzip', the Chinese box. That Virgil used a symmetrical composition was maintained also before and after Wlosok, e.g. by Halter and Highet.[41] But do we really have a Chinese box here? I cannot agree with Halter, Wlosok and Highet in this respect. If Virgil had wished to construct a Chinese box, this naturally would mean that the most important part of the message would be in the central box. The central box contains the foundation of Rome (275-277). Highet says: "Jupiter's speech is forty lines in length. The sentence, which stands exactly at its centre (275-277) describes the central event of this many-centuried history, the foundation of Rome."[42] Now the foundation of the *Urbs* is certainly not unimportant, but is it also Jupiter's most important message?

To understand this, we must turn again to the *inventio* of Venus' speech, to which Jupiter refers in his answer. Now the passage on the foundation of Rome answers only the first part of Venus' second issue, not the important second part of her second issue (Will the Romans achieve the domination of the world?) nor her third issue (Will the Trojans ever live in peace?). Therefore, lines 275-277 cannot be the essence of Jupiter's message. As Wlosok herself remarks, the 'outer parts', the 'Rahmen' (viz. the parallel parts A and B) are much more important than the 'centre': "Der äußere, kompositionell gewichtigste und auch umfangreichste Rahmen (10 und 11 Verse) zerfällt in einen Aeneas- und einen Augustusteil."[43] This means that Virgil did not use the "Schalenprinzip", the Chinese

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[40] *Die Göttin Venus*, 63.

[41] Wlosok follows Th. Halter, *Form und Gehalt in Vergils Aeneis*, Zurich and Munich 1963, 13-29; G. Highet, *The Speeches in Virgil's Aeneid*, Princeton 1972, 99. I do not deal with Halter's analysis in detail here, because it contains, as e.g. Wlosok and Buchheit have already demonstrated, entirely implausible features, like the "Strukturprinzip der Siebenzahl"; for a discussion of Halter, see Wlosok, *Die Göttin Venus*, 63-64, note 46. For a criticism of Halter's opinion of the "symmetrische Komposition", cf. Vinzenz Buchheit (in *Gnomon* 36, 1964, 49). Highet, on the other hand, though criticizing Halter's "Strukturprinzip der Siebenzahl", follows him closely with respect to the symmetrical composition.

[42] *The Speeches in Virgil's Aeneid*, 99.

[43] *Die Göttin Venus*, 63-64.

box, here as the dominant principle of composition, but another one.

In my view, Virgil has used here a *linear composition*, emphasized by an underlying *parallelism*. This means that the most important parts of the speech are exactly the *first* (A: Aeneas) and the *last* part of the speech (B: Octavian). Aeneas (A) is the starting point of Roman history; Octavian (B) represents its fulfilment in present days. The formal parallelism strongly invites the reader to compare these parts. In doing so, the reader will draw two conclusions: *first, that Octavian is the new Aeneas; second, that Octavian surpasses Aeneas in every respect.* Octavian has indeed achieved world domination (whereas Aeneas has defeated only some wild peoples of Italy); he indeed has achieved world peace. Thus of the parallel passages A and B the Octavian passage (B) is the most important part of the speech. The whole speech is culminating in lines 286-296. This linear composition exactly fits the teleological character of the prophecy: *the telos of history, its fulfilment, is its last and most important part.*[44] We shall return to this issue later on.

The Literary Prae-Text of the Prophecy: Naevius' Bellum Punicum

For reconstructing the attitude of Virgil's audience and their expectations, we are helped by strong external evidence. Venus' and Jupiter's speech is no original invention of Virgil, but the poet closely follows the first book of Naevius' *Bellum Punicum*.[45] Macrobius in his discussion of the *Aeneid* in his *Saturnalia* drew attention to the fact that Virgil borrowed

[44] Wlosok must have realized this when she remarked: "Der Augustusteil ist durch besonders sorgfältige Formgebung ausgezeichnet und bildet zweifellos den Höhepunkt der Prophetie" (*Die Göttin Venus*, 64).

[45] O'Hara, surprisingly, does not take this important fact into consideration. For Virgil as imitator of Naevius, cf. M. Wigodsky, *Vergil and Early Latin Poetry* (*Hermes Einzelschriften* 24), 1972, 22-39. On the prophecies in Naevius' epic, see *ibid.*, 22-24; V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (*Gymnasium Beiheft* 3), Heidelberg 1963; S. Mariotti, *Il Bellum Poenicum e l'arte di Nevio*, Rome 1955, 13-17.

many verses from his predecessors. Macrobius was even sure that the reader would be amazed at the extent to which this was the case. According to him, the parallels are so extensive and so numerous that it would be a tedious undertaking to give the full text in the *Saturnalia*. Therefore Macrobius just mentions the books involved in order to enable the reader to compare the passages for himself. As the example *par excellence* of Virgil's close borrowings from Naevius Macrobius gave exactly Venus' and Jupiter's speech in the first book:

> Sunt alii loci plurimorum versuum quos Maro in opus suum cum paucorum immutatione verborum a veteribus transtulit. Et quia longum est numerosos versus ex utroque transcribere, libros veteres notabo, ut qui volet illic legendo aequalitatem locorum conferendo miretur. In primo Aeneidos tempestas describitur, et Venus apud Iovem queritur de periculis filii, et Iupiter eam de futororum prosperitate solatur. Hic locus totus sumptus a Naevio est ex primo libro Belli Punici.[46]

Unfortunately, we are not in the position to check to what extent Virgil followed the passage of the *Bellum Punicum* verbatim, for we do not have Naevius' text.[47] But this is not im-

[46] *Saturnalia* VI, 2, 30-31.

[47] No fragment has come down to us that can be ascribed to this passage with certainty (for Naevius' fragments, see E.V. Marmoreale, *Naevius poeta. Introd. bibliogr., testo dei frammenti e commento*, Florence 1953[3]; S. Mariotti, *Il Bellum Poenicum e l'arte di Nevio. Saggio con edizione dei frammenti del Bellum Poenicum*, Rome 1955; M. Barchiesi, *Nevio epico. Storia, interpretazione, edizione critica dei frammenti*, Padova 1962; J. Blänsdorf, *Fragmenta poetarum Latinorum*). D. de Moor, unconvincingly, ascribed *Fr.* 16 S. (20 Mo.), *Ei venit in mentem hominum fortunas*, to our passage (cf. Barchiesi, *Nevio epico*, 471; Wigodsky, *Vergil and Early Latin Poetry*, 37). Wigodsky emphasizes that it is "by no means certain that Virgil ever imitated Naevius verbally; indeed the mere difference of meter must have worked against verbal imitations of the *Bellum Punicum*" (*Virgil and Early Latin Poetry*, 34). The parallels given by the ancient commentators raise questions, although they may be less unconvincing than Wigodsky thinks. Wigodsky, however, does not make much of Macrobius' statements about the closeness of Virgil's borrowings; when he cites the Macrobius passage he leaves out the important first part of it where Macrobius states that Virgil borrowed 'many verses' (*plurimorum versuum*) 'by changing only few words' of Naevius' text (*cum paucorum immutatione verborum*) and invites the reader to check this remarkable fact himself (*Et quia longum est numerosos versus ex utroque transcribere, libros veteres notabo, ut qui volet illic legendo aequalitatem locorum conferendo miretur*).

portant for our present aims. For our argument it suffices to accept that Virgil borrowed the outlines of Naevius' *inventio.* This bare fact implies that:

1. Jupiter's prophecy existed in Roman literature al ready more than two centuries before Virgil's *Aeneid.*
2. Naevius already offered a *teleological* interpretation of Roman history in Jupiter's speech; and that Naevius, too, presented a fact of later Roman history (viz. the decisive victory of the Romans in the first Punic war) as the fulfilment of Fate's promise.
3. Naevius already connected the Aeneas-story to the 'harvest' of a later Roman victory.[48]

These observations enable us to arrive at a closer reconstruction of the expectations of Virgil's Roman audience. Naevius' epic was generally known among the intellectuals and the well educated, naturally the same group of people that would appreciate Virgil's poem. So as soon as Virgil's audience heard or read that worried Venus turns to Jupiter, they knew immediately what would follow: which rhetorical invention Venus would use; in which way Jupiter would answer her doubts

[48] The question as to the particulars of the relationship between Naevius' and Virgils' texts provides ample opportunity for speculation. I do not want to engage in this, because this is not relevant to my argument. Four short remarks will do for now. First, Virgil certainly did not borrow the chronology of the events between Aeneas and Romulus, the three centuries of the reign of the Alban kings, from Naevius (*hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos/ Gente sub Hectorea*, lines 272-273). Naevius actually considered Romulus to be Aeneas' grandchild; see Servius *ad loc.*: *Naevius et Ennius Aeneae ex filia nepotem Romulum conditorem urbis tradunt.* Second, the Naevian example certainly does not underlie the text any further than line 282 (of course Naevius could not mention the conquest of Greece [lines 283-285]). This may be the reason why the prophecy is interrupted exactly at this point: *Sic placitum* (283) looks like the conclusion of a prophecy. Third, Virgil does not mention the victory of the Romans over the Carthagians which was certainly there in Naevius. I believe that Virgil deliberately left it out because he wanted to present a new *telos* of history, namely Octavianus. To the fourth remark, which has to do with the closing of the gates of Janus, I shall return below.

and fears: by offering a prophecy in which he would give certain highlights of Roman history. Moreover — I emphasize this — *Virgil's audience was convinced that the prophecy will be true.* It is a prophecy *ex eventu* and the Roman victory in the first Punic war was as factual as can be and, no doubt, presented as such. It is more than likely that, because of Naevius' prae-text, Virgil's audience expects that Jupiter's prophecy in the *Aeneid* will be as true and factual as the one of Naevius' Jupiter. There are even more reasons why Virgil's audience would expect this. Since these are connected to the Caesar of lines 286ff., we shall discuss them below.

The 'Inconsistencies' of the Prophecy Reconsidered

This reconstruction of the expectations of Virgil's contemporary audience makes it clear that they expected a *true prophecy.* One cannot exclude, however, that Virgil may have intended to frustrate these very expectations. Let us therefore reconsider O'Hara's other arguments.

A. *The* populi feroces *and the* viri

Lines 263-264, in my view, do not show an inconsistency, because it is not necessary to identify the *viri* in line 264 with the *populi feroces* in line 263. It is more likely that *viri* refers to Aeneas' men. Moreover, if one identified the *viri* with the *populi feroces, viri* would be nothing more than an empty repetition. Stylistically it is more convincing to take *viri* as a separate group. Virgil's formulations in Jupiter's speech are in general very dense and economical.[49] This, too, pleads in favour of referring *viri* to others than the *populi feroces.* Thus read, there is not only no contradiction with the later books of the *Aeneid,* but also is the prophecy re-affirmed in the twelfth

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[49] These considerations make it difficult for me to agree with Austin, who comments: "*viris*: little more than *iis*" (Austin, *P. Virgilii Maronis Aeneidos liber primus*, 102).

book, where Aeneas says *mihi moenia Teucri/ Constituent* ('*the Trojans* will build walls for me').[50]

It can be regarded as a difficulty that the promise of the foundation of the city is never fulfilled in the *Aeneid.* On the other hand, it does not seem convincing to understand Jupiter's prophecy as a kind of summary of the plot of the *Aeneid*, as for instance Büchner[51] or, centuries before, Maffeo Vegio have done.[52]

B. *Iulus*

The observation that Virgil focuses exclusively on Ascanius-Iulus in lines 267-273 is correct. But is this meant as a hint to the reader, suggesting that the prophecy is not to be trusted? I am not so sure about that. This could only have been the case, if Virgil's contemporary audience would have had a clear picture of the genealogy of the kings of Alba Longa, with their descent from Aeneas Silvius. But this is not very likely. In fact, as Nicholas Horsfall has shown, the description of Roman prehistory was a chaos in Virgil's days.[53] There were various traditions, which often contradicted one another, and these were used independently. Livius' account in his first book *Ab urbe condita* is a telling example. In his comment on our passage, Servius mentions the contradicting versions of, among others, Cato, Naevius and Ennius, versions that were available to Virgil's contemporaries. Horsfall is correct in saying that "the

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[50] *Aen.* XII, 193-194; cf. O'Hara, 141.

[51] K. Büchner, 'P. Vergilius Maro', *RE* VIII A, 1343. O'Hara, 149, rightly rejects this interpretation.

[52] Vegio thought that Virgil originally wanted to describe all the events regarding Aeneas (but nothing of the later Roman [pre]history mentioned in the prophecy): the burial of Turnus, Aeneas' marriage to Lavinia, the foundation of Lavinium, and Aeneas' death and apotheosis. Cf. Vegio's *argumentum* of his 13th book: *Turni inde Latinus/ Morte dolet. Patriae miseranda incendia Daunus/ Eversae, et cari deflet pia funera nati./ Connubium instaurat natae laetosque hymenaeos/ Rex socer Aeneae genero; gens utraque pacto/ Foedere pacis ovat; tum nomine coniugis urbem/ Instruit, et tandem placida sub pace regentem/ Transtulit Aeneam Venus astra ad summa beatum* (A. Cox Brinton, *Maphaeus Vegius and his Thirteenth Book of the Aeneid*, New York and London 1978, 52).

[53] N.M. Horsfall, 'Virgil and the Conquest of Chaos', in: S.J. Harrison (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Virgil's* Aeneid, Oxford and New York 1990, 466-477.

kings of Alba are variously presented as descendants of Aeneas and Creusa (I, 267ff.: cf. Liv. I,3,2) and descendants of Aeneas and Lavinia (VI, 760ff.: cf. Liv. I,1,11). Both genealogies are well attested and have a long history."[54] I fully subscribe to Horsfall's general conclusion that Virgil did not always exert himself to harmonize the stories and that he "was not passionately interested in antiquarian or technical *minutiae*" and that to him "consistency mattered much less than effect."[55]

It is clear that Virgil wanted to achieve a certain effect in lines 267ff.: the most eye-catching detail is the rather long and circumstantial formulation that he uses in order to explain Ascanius's new name Iulus (267-268). This is the point Virgil wanted to drive home: to construct a clear and unmistakable genealogical line from Aeneas' son Iulus to the family of the Iulii. In order to achieve this, it was not useful to give an account of the various traditions or to make an effort to harmonize them. Iulus is important for Virgil because Jupiter's teleological account ends exactly with a Iulius. When Virgil mentions the name Iulius in line 288, he harvests what he has implanted in lines 267-268: *Iulius a magno demissum nomen Iulo.*

Thus Virgil pays tribute to one of Octavian's favourite propagandistic concepts, the claim that he descends — via his adoptive father — from Aeneas and Venus. It would be tedious to give an exhaustive account here of all Octavian's propagandistic efforts to imprint his genealogical claim into the minds of his contemporaries. The ideological conception of the Forum Augustum offers, of course, the most clear and well-known example. In the exedra to the left there was in the centre a statue of Aeneas; to Aeneas' right stood the statues of the kings of Alba Longa, to his left statues of the Iulii (Fig. 1).[56] The connection of the statue of Aeneas and of the Iulii is testified by Ovid's *Fasti* (V, 563f.): *Hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere caro/ Et tot Iuliae nobilitatis avos*. The statue of Aeneas with its genealogical claim was reproduced many times in

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[54] Horsfall, 471-472.

[55] Horsfall, 477.

[56] Cf. P. Zanker, *Forum Augustum. Das Bildprogramm*, Tübingen s.d. (*Monumenta Artis Antiquae* 2), esp. 16ff.; idem, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, München 1987, 196ff.

applied arts, for instance on wall paintings (Fig. 2), altars (Fig. 3), and coins.[57] The statue group showed Aeneas on his flight from Troy, guiding his son Ascanius-Iulus.

The affirmation of Octavian's genealogical claim in a work of the literary art was especially important in the year to which — as I shall demonstrate — the ideological programme of the Jupiter prophecy belongs: 29 BC. In this year Octavian solemnly consecrated the temple of his father Divus Iulius on the Forum Romanum. The descent of the Iulii from Venus and the Trojans was emphasized on this occasion: a famous and impressive painting of Venus by Alexander's court painter Apelles was solemnly dedicated to the temple, so that as a result Octavian's divinized 'father' was reunited with the 'mother'-god of the family. In his propaganda on coins, too, Octavian reaffirmed his descent from Venus: on a denar, probably from 29 B.C. (Fig. 4) on the verso Octavian is shown, and on the recto Venus with the inscription: CAESAR DIVI F<ILIUS>.[58] Another telling detail is that the *Troiae lusus* was performed in the course of the opening ceremonies.[59]

In this propaganda stunt Octavian connected the old habit with the genealogical claim of his family. Octavian did not only succeed in bringing forward his genealogical claim in front of a big Roman crowd, but also he managed to involve the Roman nobility directly, for the *Troiae lusus* was performed by the sons of Roman *nobiles*. Although etymologi-

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[57] Cf. Zanker, *Forum Augustum*, ill. 40 and 42; idem, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, 205 and 207.

[58] For this coin, see Kent, Overbeck, Stylow, and Hirmer, *Die römische Münze*, München 1973, nr. 121 (the recto on Tafel 32, the verso on Tafel 31); K. Kraft, *Zur Münzprägung des Augustus*, Wiesbaden 1969, 6-25; H. Mattingly and E. Sydemham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, I, 1923, 60 (=nr. 3); Wlosok, *Die Göttin Venus*, 120, mentions this coin to prove that Octavian used Venus in connection with the victory at Actium. This is basically correct, but not precise enough: the coin belongs to the year 29 B.C. and reflects Octavian's propagandistic agenda of that year.

[59] The consecration of the temple of Divus Iulius was celebrated with extraordinary pomp and circumstance. Dio in his *Roman History* (51.22.4-9) describes several significant details of the festivities. As the first, and thus probably most significant detail he mentions the *lusus Troianus* (51,22,4): 'At the consecration of the shrine to Julius there were all kinds of contests, and the boys of the patricians performed the equestrian exercise called 'Troy' [...]').

cally the *Troiae lusus* had nothing to do with Troy, Augustus made this link explicit. For him, it was a propagandistic means not only to affirm his own constructed descent, but also to create an identity shared with the Roman nobility. The propagandistic message was: *we belong together, we are Trojans.*

We can be sure that Virgil himself witnessed one or more *Troiae lusus* under Augustus, who deliberately favoured them and took care of their performances.[60] Since it is likely that Virgil attended Augustus' festivities in 29 B.C. (cf. below), it is not impossible that he also saw the *Troiae lusus* of that year performed at the consecration of the temple of Divus Iulius. In *Aeneid* V he gives a detailed description of an Augustan *Troiae lusus*:

Incedunt pueri pariterque ante ora parentum
Frenatis lucent in equis, quos omnis euntis
Trinacriae mirata fremit Troiaeque iuventus.
Omnibus in morem tonsa coma pressa corona;
Cornea bina ferunt praefixa hastilia ferro,
Pars levis umero pharetras; it pectore summo
Flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri.
Tres equitum numero turmae ternique vagantur
Ductores; pueri bis seni quemque secuti
Agmine partito fulgent paribusque magistris [...].[61]

It is not necessary to elaborate any further on the propagandistic effect of the *Troiae lusus*. It is obvious that Virgil understood its propagandistic importance. Moreover, There is no doubt that it was an extraordinarily appealing experience for the writer of an epic poem about the Trojan offspring of the Romans. It is very likely that Virgil will have observed the spectacle with great interest.[62] It is, of course, impossible to decide to what extent Virgil agreed personally with Augustus'

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[60] Cf. Sueton.*Aug.*43.3: *Sed et Troiae lusum edidit frequentissime maiorum minorumque puerorum, prisci decorique moris existimans, clarae stirpis indolem sic notescere.*

[61] *Aen.* V, 553ff.

[62] R.D. Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil, Books 1-6*, London 1972, 434, concludes from the description of the *Troiae lusus* that it "is written with a verve which clearly reflects Virgil's enjoyment of such visual pageantry." This may be true, but is much too general. I think that the description here reflects a *specific interest* in the *Troiae lusus*.

propaganda of the *Troiae lusus*. But it is a matter of fact that he has understood it and has applied it in the *Aeneid*. Williams pointed in the right direction when he suggested that the description of the *Troiae lusus* is connected to the political mood of Virgil's own day.[63] It is very interesting that in the fifth book, Virgil connects the *Troiae lusus* especially with Iulus, who is depicted as the leader of the young men performing.[64] This is another clear reminder of Octavian's genealogical claim.

In Jupiter's prophecy, Virgil follows Octavian's propaganda with respect to the *Iulus*-genealogy very closely. So the emphasis Virgil puts on Iulus has exactly the opposite effect from undermining Octavian's ideology and propagandistic programme: it is a very strong affirmation of it and a careful introduction of the genealogical claim in a wider mythological and historical framework. Virgil's genealogical construction is all the more eye-catching as it is in this very passage that he uses the name of Iulus for the first time in the *Aeneid*.

C. *Romulus*

O'Hara claims that Virgil underscores the Romulus myth in the Jupiter prophecy in order to discredit Augustus' regime. This interpretation seems highly implausible to me. Octavian was very eager to associate himself closely with Romulus.[65] He regarded himself as the new Romulus, the new founder of Rome (who brought Rome back to life after the civil wars). It is exactly in order to associate himself with Romulus that he took the archaic *spolia opima*.[66] Moreover, Romulus played an important role in the ideological programme of the *Forum*

[63] R.D. Williams, *ibid*. The manner in which Williams explains this connection (that the *Troiae lusus* "is painted in the bright and joyful colours appropriate to the hopes that were placed in the promise and achievement of the younger generation, whether of Aeneas' day or Virgil's own"), however, is somewhat vague and unsatisfactory. The impact of the *Troiae lusus* is not just optimism of "the younger generation", but a mixture of Octavian's genealogical claim with the creation and affirmation of an identity that he shared with the Roman nobility.

[64] *Aen.* V, 545-550.

[65] Cf. Jane DeRose Evans, *The Art of Persuasion*, 92ff.

[66] Cf. DeRose Evans, *The Art of Persuasion*, 96f.

Augustum: his statue with the *spolia opima* was placed there as the counterpart of Aeneas (Fig. 5). Romulus and Aeneas functioned as the main figures of political identity.[67] So, in the conception of the *Forum Augustum,* Augustus associated himself ostentatively with Romulus. He did so even more by reviving the cult of the *Casa Romuli* on the Palatine, and by building his own house next to it.[68] Augustus used several aspects of Romulus in his propaganda: the augur, the military leader, the city founder and the deified mortal.[69]

Moreover, it is not entirely true that the Augustan poets in general interpreted the Romulus myth in a negative way.[70] Propertius and Ovid, for example, made outspoken efforts to defend Romulus with respect to the fratricide: Ovid maintained that Remus was killed by another man, a certain Celer,[71] Propertius remains silent about the identiy of the person who killed Remus.[72] I think that we can add Virgil's rendering of the Romulus myth in the Jupiter prophecy to the Augustan rehabilitations of Romulus: when Virgil's Jupiter tells about the foundation of Rome (*Romulus* [...] *Mavortia condet/ Moenia,* lines 276-277), he does not mention that Romulus killed Remus who made fun of the city walls.[73] This is an euphemistic rehabilitation of Romulus. The story comforts Venus and Virgil's audience alike.

The rehabilitative mode of Virgil's rendering of the Romulus myth is even more true for the second instance he mentions it in the Jupiter prophecy: *Aspera tum positis mitescent*

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67 Zanker, *Forum Augustum,* 17; idem, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder,* 204ff.

68 See the article by Paul Meyboom in this volume.

69 DeRose Evans, *The Art of Persuasion,* 95-96.

70 DeRose Evans, *The Art of Persuasion,* 94-95.

71 *Fasti* IV, 833ff.

72 *El.* III, 9, 50.

73 I do not think that Feeney's judgment of the reaction of Virgil's audience is convincing: "Jupiter describes the birth of twins [...] and it is with considerable shock that we reach the final word and discover that it is singular (*laetus*)" (D.C. Feeney, 'History and Revelation in Vergil's Underworld', *PCPS* 32, 9). As the myth was generally known, the audience could hardly have experienced a shock even when confronted with a description of the murder of Remus. There is more to say for the opposite: when recognizing that the murder is not mentioned, the audience was soothed and relieved.

saecula bellis:/ Cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus/ Iura dabunt (291-293). Here Romulus takes the same position as the most venerable deities of the Roman state, Fides and Vesta. *Together with them he symbolizes the peace and stability of Octavian's new regime.*

Moreover, in Virgil's rendering of the myth Romulus and Remus are literally 'united': *Remo cum fratre Quirinus,* which means that their old strife is over now.[74] Virgil introduces this as another image of the end of civil war under Octavian: it is peace now; the state deity Vesta is strong now (which means the state enjoys stability); and peace and stability are confirmed by Fides (which means that the audience can trust peace and stability).

Even O'Hara, 153, admits this: "For the Roman reader this could be an image of reconciliation after fraternal strife" (p. 153). I cannot subscribe, however, to his conclusion: "But here as clearly as anywhere, Jupiter predicts something that will not, can not, and did not happen: Remus is dead, and the Augustan settlement could not heal all the wounds of the past, could not bring back Cicero, Salvidienus Rufus, Sextus Pompey, Marc Antony, Cornelius Gallus, or the countless civil war dead." This is not the point here. In the prophecy we have a propaganda version of Augustan policy: propaganda does not describe what is actually the case, but what ideally should be the case. Octavian-Augustus tried to reunite the Romans and to stabilize his regime by emphasizing the ideological programme of PEACE.

The phrase *Remo cum fratre Quirinus* clearly fits the agenda of Octavian's propaganda in 29 BC: in that year he returned to Rome after his decisive victory in the civil war.

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[74] In my view, Wilkinson does not describe the effect on the reader satisfactorily: "Virgil tacitly puts aside any thought of the legend that Romulus killed his brother" (L.P. Wilkinson, *Virgil: the Georgics*, New York 1982, 152). It is true that Virgil does not mention the murder. But since every reader was acquainted with the myth, it was impossible to "put aside any thought" of the murder. Virgil's statement lays exactly in the *reunion* of Romulus and Remus. He invites the reader to think: 'Oh, now (in the age of Augustus) they are reunited, so the civil war is over.'

D. *Caesar*

O'Hara's idea that Virgil deliberately creates ambiguity as to which Caesar is meant, seems attractive and deserves further consideration.

The analysis of the formal organisation (see above) shows that the Caesar passage (lines 286ff.) is of the highest importance for the speech, for its interpretation and for the message it comprises. It goes without saying that it is highly relevant which Caesar is meant here. If the dictator is meant, Virgil's propaganda focuses on him. Then, Virgil's *telos* of Roman history would be Julius Caesar. He would be the hero who, by his immense victory in the east (289), has created the ideal state of the Roman empire. Consequently, Octavian would only be an *epigonos* of the overwhelming dictator; he would be only indirectly implied, without his name being mentioned at all. This would give Virgil's political message a remarkable outlook indeed: it would mean that, at the time when he wrote the passage, 29 BC or shortly afterwards, Virgil had preferred to propagate the dictator; the subordinate role given to Octavian would imply in fact a virulent criticism. The fact that Octavian's name is not mentioned could only have been interpreted by Virgil's contemporaries as an offence towards the princeps. Surprisingly, these rather obvious implications were not always taken into account by the commentators. The question 'which Caesar?' was disputed several times without taking the context of the whole prophecy into account.[75] In my view, the Caesar-question can only be discussed adequately *within* this context.

It is true that the victory in the east can also refer to Julius Caesar — if the passage is treated in isolation from the context of the whole speech. Caesar has celebrated a triumph for his victory at Alexandria (48 B.C.) and over Pharnaces (47 B.C.). Austin and Dobbin have argued that with the phrase *spoliis Orientis onustum* these victories were meant.[76]

[75] For instance, recently, by Kraggrud, 'Which Julius Caesar?' (1992) and Dobbin, 'Julius Caesar in Jupiter's Prophecy'.

[76] Austin, *Aeneidos liber primus*, 109; Dobbin, 'Julius Caesar in Jupiter's Prophecy', 13ff.

The above analysis of the whole speech has shown, however, that Virgil has composed it with the example of Naevius' speech of Jupiter in mind. This implies that Virgil's speech of Jupiter, too, will offer a decisive *telos* of Roman history.

In the light of this observation it seems highly implausible that Virgil would not offer one *telos*, but two, both the life and times of the dictator (286-290) and the life and times of Octavian (291-296).

Commentators have regarded it as a problem that the person mentioned in 286ff. is referred to as Iulius Caesar.[77] They observed that this does not correspond with Octavian's official nomenclature after 38 BC.[78] It is true that in his propaganda (on coins, in inscriptions etc.) Octavian did not use the name Iulius for himself, but reserved it for the dictator.[79]

But did Virgil give to the person from lines 286ff. the name Iulius Caesar? In fact, he speaks of *Caesar, imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris, Iulius*. This is to be translated as 'Caesar, who is to bound his empire by the Ocean and his fame by the stars, a member of the family of the Iulii.'[80] Thus, Virgil does not give to Octavian the name Iulius Caesar, but Caesar, adding Iulius as an extension, carefully marked as such by the interpolation of a line between *Caesar* and *Iulius*. *Iulius*, moreover, by virtue of its prominent position in the verse[81] and by the explication *Iulius a magno demissum nomen Iulo* (which links the person via Iulus [cf. lines 267-268] to Aeneas) is most expressively marked as a special genealogical statement. Thus,

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[77] Dobbin, 'Julius Caesar in Jupiter's Prophecy', 7-8; as he puts it (7), "scholars have their hands full trying to explain why Virgil refers to him [Octavianus] in 288 as Iulius"; Austin, *Aeneidos liber primus*, 109 "The name Iulius must instantly have been taken of the emperor when the passage was heard or read by contemporaries". O'Hara who argues in favour of ambiguity also emphasizes this issue.

[78] R. Syme, 'Imperator Caesar: A Study in Nomenclature', *Historia* 7, 1958, 172ff.

[79] Cf. also W.H. Gross, 'Ways and Roundabout Ways in the Propaganda of an Impopular Ideology', in: R. Winkes (ed.), *The Age of Augustus*, Louvain 1985, 32.

[80] The translation basically follows Austin (*ad loc.*). Austin (correctly) does not translate 'Julius Caesar', but 'Caesar [...], a Iulius'. Cf. also the formulation by Kraggerud, 'Which Julius Caesar?', 106: "a Julius".

[81] By enjambement and hyperbaton, cf. Kraggerud, 'Which Julius Caesar?', 106.

considering the specific architecture of the lines, I believe there is no real obstacle against understanding lines 286ff. as referring to Octavian.[82]

Would Octavian have had any objections against such a way of introducing him? I think that this is not very likely. In the light of the above discussion it is evident that Octavian must have been pleased to be associated with Aeneas. In order to prove his genealogical claim, it was very useful to put forward the name of his family, Iulius. The way in which Virgil has introduced Octavian in Jupiter's speech was, in my view, very much in the emperor's interest.

Commentators have raised a number of other objections inferred against the identification of the Caesar of lines 286ff. with Octavian.

1. Caesar's *assunzione* in heaven: In lines 289f. Jupiter promises that Venus will receive the Caesar in heaven, 'loaded with the spoils of the Orient' and that 'he too will be called in prayers' (*Hunc tu olim caelo spoliis Orientis onustum/ Accipies secura; vocabitur hic quoque votis*). Then Virgil mentions the peaceful age to come (lines 291ff.). Most commentators take the phrase 'to receive in heaven' as referring to the official apotheosis after the Caesar's death (the dictator's apotheosis took place in 42 BC, Augustus' in 14 AD). Lines 291ff. refer to Octavian without any doubt (because of the closing of the gates of Janus). Dobbin argues that if in lines 286ff. Octavian is meant, "peace, as it seems, will have to wait until after the emperor dies. But peace in Augustus' reign was celebrated as an accomplished fact."[83] Moreover, Dobbin mentions a problem of politeness: it would have been awkward if Virgil had

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[82] Kraggerud ('Which Julius Caesar?', 104, note 4) says: "That the *gentilicium* was not current and official use [...] is not say that its use would have been dubious or improper on a level with Octavianus." This assumption may be true, but is not supported by evidence. I prefer to consider the architecture of the lines as the decisive argument in favour of Octavianus.

[83] Dobbin, 'Julius Caesar in Jupiter's Prophecy', 11. Here Dobbin elaborates upon the argument mentioned by Austin, *Aeneidos liber primus*, 109: "here its (viz. the apotheosis') mention is in chronological order if the reference is in fact to Iulius (viz. the dictator), whereas if Augustus is meant, the prophecy of apotheosis for him precedes his living achievements."

wished Octavian a (speedy) apotheosis. "Death precedes deification. So if peace is to attend Augustus' removal to heaven, Virgil will be wishing him a speedy demise."[84]

2. It would have been very strange for Virgil to have omitted the dictator completely in his sketch of Roman history.

3. Many commentators, among others Austin (1971), Paratore (1978), Perret (1981), O'Hara (1989) and Dobbin (1995), maintained that if lines 286ff. refer to Augustus, the phrase *spoliis Orientis onustum* refers to Augustus' victory over the Parthians in 20 BC.[85] If that were the case, Dobbin remarks, in itself correctly, it follows that the phrase would not be very adequate, because "the Parthian affair was not a victory at all," but rather "a diplomatic settlement." Therefore "Augustus declined a triumph, hence there were no spoils."[86]

4. According to Dobbin, the prophecy is composed of little units of five or six lines. If the Caesar of lines 286ff. were Octavian, this structure would be disturbed. Therefore, one should split the passage of lines 286-96 into two seperate passages, referring to Caesar the dictator and Augustus respectively (286-290; 291-296).

5. *tum* in line 291, according to Dobbin, means 'next', viz. 'after that', and thus chronologically separates lines 291ff. from lines 286-290.[87] Dobbin refers to a study by Mandra who observed that in the *Aeneid* in ca. 75% of the cases *tum* means 'after that.'[88] Dobbin combines this observation with the fact that 291 is a golden line. According to Habinek, golden lines (in the first six books of the *Aeneid*) mark a major transition in the majority of cases.[89] Thus, Dobbin concludes, "the presence of *tum* in 291 strengthens the assumption that this is the case here too" and that "the formally imposing and self-contained

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[84] *Ibid.*

[85] Dobbin, 'Julius Caesar in Jupiter's Prophecy', 13-14; O'Hara, 157; Austin, *Aeneidos liber primus*, 109; cf. Kraggerud, 'Which Julius Caesar?', 109, note 20.

[86] Dobbin, 'Julius Caesar in Jupiter's Prophecy', 14.

[87] 'Julius Caesar in Jupiter's Prophecy', 9ff.

[88] A. Mandra, *The Time Element in the Aeneid of Vergil*, Williamsport 1934, 178f.; Dobbin, 'Julius Caesar in Jupiter's Prophecy', 9.

[89] T. Habinek, 'Prose Cola and Poetic Word Order: Observations on Adjectives and Nouns in the *Aeneid*', *Helios* 12, 1985, 59-60.

golden line, complete with *tum*, alerts us to the fact not only that a new subject is pending, but that we have arrived at the rhetorical climax of the speech."[90]

Ad 1: The argument of the 'intact' chronological order of the passage (if the dictator is meant) is in itself not very strong. First of all, it is not an established fact that Virgil in this prophecy deals with the life and times of heroes of Roman history in absolute chronological order, so that an apotheosis always would come last. It is sufficient to compare the example of Aeneas: Virgil mentions Aeneas' apotheosis *first*, and subsequently elaborates upon his achievements, viz. his victory over the Rutuli. In lines 259-260 Virgil says: *sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli/ Magnanimum Aenean*; afterwards, in lines 263ff.: *bellum ingens geret Italia populosque ferocis/ Contundet*, etc.

On the contrary, one gains from this even another argument in favour of ascribing lines 286ff. to Octavian, since the analysis of the composition shows that the Aeneas section is composed as a parallel to the section on contemporary Roman history. It suits this parallel composition all the more, if the order of the separate issues is running in parallel lines.[91] Thus, Virgil mentions first the apotheosis of both heroes (Aeneas and Octavian), and subsequently gives an account their deeds.

If, on the other hand, the dictator were meant, new difficulties would arise. For instance, how could one understand the statement that peace follows the apotheosis of the dictator in 42 BC? After this apotheosis, as is generally known, about eleven years of bloody civil war were to follow.

Another question is whether it would have been acceptable to Octavian that Virgil wished him a (speedy) apotheosis. Surprisingly, the commentators take for granted that Virgil refers

[90] Dobbin, 'Julius Caesar in Jupiter's Prophecy', 10.

[91] Kraggerud, 'Which Julius Caesar?', 110, analyses the composition of the passage 286-296 in the following way: first Virgil gives a general presentation of a person (286-290), then his achievements (291-296). This seems a little bit too straightforward: in the first passage Virgil gives the huge victory in the east (289), so an achievement. Kraggerud is of course right when he denies that Virgil follows a chronological presentation. He does not refer, however, to the striking parallel with Aeneas in the first part of the prophecy.

to an apotheosis in the technical sense. In my view, this is far from certain. But let us first consider the implications of a reference to an apotheosis in the technical sense. Of course, it would have been inappropriate if Virgil had wished Octavian a speedy deification. But, in fact, there is no need for the qualification "speedy", because in describing the life and achievements of the heroes of Roman history Virgil did not follow a strict chronological order. But would it have been acceptable for Octavian that Virgil mentioned a future apotheosis?

It seems to me that the answer to this question can only be affirmative.[92] To be a god *in spe*, was for sure very honourable. Which emperor would have wished to deny that he was to become a god? That Octavian would have wished to deny that, seems extremely unlikely in the light of the events in 29 BC, when he was actually treated as a god during his life and did not object very much against that.

But it is not at all sure that Virgil refers to an apotheosis in the technical sense while mentioning Octavian's deification (*caelo* [...] *accipies*). First one should observe that Octavian's deification is in the Jupiter prophecy directly and indissolubly connected with his victory in the east: *caelo spoliis Orientis onustum accipies*. The victory in the east occurred in 29 BC (see below). Cassius Dio has provided us with a very detailed description of the events of that year, when Octavian returned from the east to Rome and celebrated his triple triumph. The senate decided already in 30 BC that Octavian should receive a triumph and that his birthday and the day of the battle of Actium should be official holydays;[93] in 29 BC the senate decided that '*his* [*Octavian's*] *name will be called in the prayers, equally with those of the gods,*[94] and 'that the day on which he entered the city should be honoured with sacrifices by the whole

[92] Kraggerud, 'Which Julius Caesar?', 110, admits this ("*Vocabitur hic quoque votis* could in itself be taken to bear on a situation when the ruler was still alive"), but thinks that "the context precludes this interpretation." In this I cannot entirely agree: if a man is treated as a god during his lifetime (which was, as will be shown, the case in 29 BC), he belongs both to the world of the gods (cf. *Georgics*, sphragis of the fourth book) and to the realm of the mortals at the same time.

[93] Cassius Dio LI, 19, 1-2.

[94] Cassius Dio LI, 20, 1.

population and be held sacred for evermore.'[95] Octavian accepted these honours, although he declined 'the proposal that the whole population of the city should go out to meet him.'[96] When Octavian arrived in Rome in 29 BC, the people of Rome offered sacrifices to him, including an official sacrifice by the consul Valerius Potitus:[97] 'It was he who publicly and in person offered sacrifices in behalves of the senate and of the people upon Caesar's arrival, a thing that had never before been done in the case of any other person.'[98]

Thus, Virgil's *vocabitur hic quoque votis* (290) became a fact in 29 BC, without Octavian having to die for that. The divine honours offered to Octavian must have made a deep impression on the contemporary Romans, since such a thing was — as Dio emphasizes — never done before. In my view, Virgil refers to this remarkable fact in line 290. There is a striking parallel for this in the preface to Virgil's *Georgics*. There Virgil treats Octavian (calling him Caesar, as he does here) as a god, invoking him in an introductory prayer, and says: *votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari* (I, 42). Prefaces are generally written after the completion of the work. I believe that this was the case with the *Georgics* too. The *Georgics* were completed in 29 BC, the same year in which Virgil probably wrote the Jupiter prophecy.

In 29 BC we have the unique situation that a living person, Octavian, was treated as a god. This may have been a little bit more acceptable for his contemporaries in the light of the fact that Octavian celebrated his triple triumph: his divine honours were, as becomes clear from Dio's account, closely connected with this triumph. A triumphator, in a sense, is climbing the stairs to heaven, and this is all the more true for a triple triumphator. The voyage to heaven and the voyage to eternal fame are interconnected. As Virgil says at the end of the fourth book of the *Georgics* (in the sphragis), Octavian, by his

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[95] Cassius Dio LI, 20, 3.

[96] Cassius Dio LI, 20, 4.

[97] Cassius Dio LI, 21, 1: 'And when he entered the city, not only all the citizens offered sacrifice, as has been mentioned [*sc.* 20,3], but even the consul Valerius Potitus.'

[98] Cassius Dio, LI, 21, 2.

victories in the east, *viam adfectat Olympo* (IV, 562). In Virgil's Jupiter prophecy, too, Octavian's voyage to heaven is connected with his triumph in the east.

Ad 2. The second argument in favour of the dictator (that it would have been strange if Virgil had omitted the dictator in his sketch of Roman history) is weak and can be dismissed without much discussion. As we have shown above, the Jupiter prophecy requires a certain *telos* and a counterpart to Aeneas. This means, that most events and protagonists of Roman history could safely be left out of the prophecy, including Julius Caesar. The argument does not require a balanced and exhaustive summary of Roman history, which Virgil, as one can easily see, did not offer anyway.

Ad 3. This argument has been dismissed already by Kraggerud who has shown most convincingly that the phrase *spoliis Orientis onustum* does not refer to the diplomatic victory over the Parthians in 20 BC, but to the aftermath of the victory over Cleopatra in 29 BC.[99]

Ad 4. This argument can also be dismissed easily. As we have shown in the analysis of the composition, the Jupiter prophecy is built on the principle of *linear composition*, reinforced by the *parallelism* between Aeneas and Octavian. From this structure it follows that it is not very useful to pay equal attention to all units of Roman history (as Dobbin maintained, five to six lines), but to emphasize the first and the last part, and to pay most attention to the last part, the *telos*.

This is perfectly in accordance with the actual situation: Aeneas receives *nine* lines (it is difficult to understand in which way Dobbin counted five or six lines), Augustus *eleven*.[100]

[99] 'Which Julius Caesar?', *passim*, especially 109f. Kraggerud takes for granted that *Oriens* can also refer to Egypt. Dobbin who fundamentally disagrees with Kraggerud, has ironically provided more evidence for this, when he refers to the fact that the Roman geographers assigned Egypt to Asia; cf. 'Julius Caesar in Jupiter's Prophecy', 16.

[100] Dobbin's composition in units of five or six lines also in other respects does not correspond to the actual situation: the conquest of Greece for instance (I, 283-285) receives *three* lines.

Ad 5. The quantifications of Mandra, of course, do not provide a convincing argument for the actual interpretation of *tum* in line 291. *Tum* can mean 'after that' and 'at that time' as well. One thing is certain: *tum* is a marker that puts special emphasis on lines 291ff. and it marks 291-296 as the climax of the prophecy. Also the golden line in 291 is a marker: it shows that something of the highest importance will be mentioned. But it does not follow from this that lines 291-296 and line 286-290 should refer to different emperors.

The Propagandistic Value of the Jupiter Prophecy and the Events of 29 BC

Lines 291-296 mention a very important event indeed: the closing of the gates of Janus in 29 BC. The importance of this event is underlined by the usage of the metre: the concentration of spondees in 293-294 fills Virgil's audience with awe and holy shiver.

The closing of the gates of Janus, as a matter of fact, marks something special and unusual. In whole Roman history it happened only two times before, for the last time more than two centuries ago, in 235 BC.[101] Thus, the *tum* that announces the event, does indeed mark something new, namely *a new era of peace* after the civil wars. From this, however, it does not follow that this new era is disconnected from the preceding lines 286-290. On the contrary, the closing of the gates of Janus is precisely the result of the achievements of Octavian described there, namely his victory in the east over Cleopatra and Marc Anthony.

In 29 BC, as it was said before, Octavian returned to Rome after his campaign against Marc Anthony and Cleopatra in order to celebrate his victory with a triple triumph. Virgil refers to this triumph with the phrase *spoliis Orientis onustum.* If one

[101] Varro, *De lingua Latina* V, 165; cf. also John M. Carter's note on Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 22, 1 (ed. with introd. and comm., Bristol 1982, 116-117).

conciders the events,[102] it becomes clear how extremely appropriate Virgil's formulation is. The main military and political fact is that Octavian was now the victor of the civil war and that he had concentrated all power in his person. Another thing was, however, how to present this fact to the senate and the people of Rome, and to use it for propagandistic purposes. For this, Octavian chose the instrument of the triple triumph, which was certainly not merely meant as an act of megalomaniac self-expression. More correctly, it was intended *to conceal the fact that it was a victory in civil war and to present the victory as a triumph in a foreign campaign.* Thus, on the first day a triumph was celebrated for victories over various foreign peoples, somewhat surprisingly over Gauls, Germans, Pannonians and Dalmatians.[103]

Thus the first day provoked the right attitude of the Roman spectators: *they should regard Octavian as a triumphator over foreign peoples.* Only after that, on the second day, the triumph with regard to the battle of Actium was celebrated, the victory that was most directly linked with the civil war. But this was superseded on the third and last day when the triumph for the victory over Egypt and Cleopatra was celebrated. This was the most impressive day, with an enormous amount of precious spoils of a quantity and quality never seen before in Rome. As Dio reports, 'the Egyptian celebration surpassed them all in costliness and magnificence. Among other features, an effigy of the dead Cleopatra upon a couch was carried by, so that in a way she, too, together with the other captives and with her children, Alexander, called also Helios, and Cleopatra, called also Selene, was a part of the spectacle and a trophy in the procession.'[104] Moreover, Octavian associated also the victories celebrated on the first and the second day with the spoils of Egypt, presenting part of them also in the processions of the first and second day.[105] Dio's account

[102] See, e.g., H. Bengtson, *Kaiser Augustus. Sein Leben und seine Zeit*, Munich 1981, 52-54.

[103] Cassius Dio LI, 21, 5-6.

[104] Cassius Dio LI, 21, 8.

[105] Cassius Dio LI, 21, 7: 'Now all the processions proved notable, thanks to the spoils of Egypt.'

makes clear that the most remarkable thing of Octavian's victory celebrations in 29 BC (in quantity and quality) were indeed the spoils of Egypt. Thus, when Virgil says *spoliis Orientis onustum,* he drives home the most important propagandistic element of Octavian's triumphs.

Now the triple triumph took place on August 13th, 14th and 15th. After that Octavian took his next step: the affirmation of the dynastic legitimisation of his power. In order to do this, immediately afterwards, on August 16th or 17th, he solemnly opened the new senate house, now named after his 'father' *Curia Iulia* (Fig. 6). This meant that the most republican element of the state, the Roman senate, was by now swallowed up by the Julian family. In order to underline this, Octavian made a most expressive gesture: he placed the statue of his personal Victory (*Victoria*), depicting his victory at Actium, in the senate house. This statue of *Victoria* was actually covered with the spoils of Egypt.[106] The propagandistic political message was: from now on each gathering of the senate will be connected to Octavian's victory in the civil wars. Thus, in a sense, goodbye, old Republic.

Immediately afterwards, on August 18th, Octavian consecrated the temple of his godly father Divus Iulius on the Forum Romanum (Fig. 6).[107] The temple of Divus Iulius was placed on the spot where the old Regia, the house of the Pontifex Maximus, stood. This meant that the *Forum Romanum* is from now on in the firm grip of the Julian family. The traditional centre of worldly power, the senate house, and the traditional centre of religious power, the Regia, is from now on dominated by the Julians. Moreover, in the course of the dedication ceremony, as it was mentioned above, the first *lusus Troianus* was performed. In this way Octavian reaffirmed his descent from the Trojan Aeneas and Venus. In order to emphasize his descent from the latter he dedicated the famous

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[106] Cassius Dio LI, 22, 1-2: 'After finishing this celebration Caesar dedicated [...] the Curia Iulia, which had been built in honour of his father. In the latter he set up a statue of Victory [...], thus signifying probably that it was from her that he had received the empire. It [...] was [...] placed in the senate-chamber, and decked with the spoils of Egypt.'

[107] Cf. Bengtson, *Kaiser Augustus*, 54; Cassius Dio LI, 22.

Venus icon by Apelles to the temple of Divus Iulius. Moreover, he also reaffirmed the cult of Venus Victrix by connecting her to his personal victory over Anthony and Cleopatra. In order to achieve this he dedicated the statue of Cleopatra, which had been presented to the Roman audience at the third day of the triple triumph, to the temple of Venus Victrix.

Thus, Octavian's dynastic legitimation of power was carefully interconnected with his military achievements. Next to the temple of Divus Iulius he erected a triumphal arch that celebrated the victories of 31 and 30 BC. The triumphal processions of August 13th, 14th and 15th were guided through this arch. Moreover, in front of the temple of Divus Iulius, the new *rostra* were erected, tellingly adorned with the prows of Actium.

After these celebrations the temple of Janus, situated on the *Forum Romanum*, probably next to the *Curia Iulia*, was closed in a solemn act, as a sign that the wars were over, and that from now on a new peaceful and stable government will administrate the Roman state. Octavian dedicated another painting by Apelles to the temple of Janus, which Virgil describes as *Furor impius* [...] *saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento* (294-296).[108] We may assume that in all likelihood Virgil has seen this painting, probably in 29 BC., before the gates of Janus were closed.[109] It is not impossible that the painting belonged to the spoils of Egypt that Octavian brought to Rome in 29 BC. Apelles was the court painter of Alexander the Great and the main figure on the painting is not the man in chains, but Alexander the Great in full ornament on a chariot. One may assume that the original owner of the painting was Alexander the Great and that Cleopatra inherited the painting. If this was the case, Octavian took the painting among the spoils to Rome in 29 BC. If this was the case, it is also very likely that Octavian

[108] Plinius, *N.H.* XXXV, 93 *(Apelles pinxit) Belli imaginem, restrictis ad terga manibus, Alexandro in curru triumphante;* Servius, *ad Aen.* I, 294-6: [...] *Bellum pictum et Furor sedens super arma, devinctus eo habitu, quo poeta dixit.*

[109] Between 29 and 26 BC he certainly could not have seen the painting, since the gates were closed during this period. The gates of Janus were closed again in 25 BC. So, if Virgil did not see the painting in 29 BC, the only other possibility is 26-25.

presented the painting to the Roman audience during the third day of his triumph, on August 15th. It may have been on that occasion that Virgil saw the painting. This would be another indication that Virgil attended the festivities of 29 BC.

After this chronological overview of the events of 29 BC the propagandistic value of the prophecy becomes all the more clear. Virgil transforms Octavian's propaganda of Augustus 29 BC into literature.

Does he give "bloße Herrscherpanegyrik"? Or does he offer a personal conception of contemporary history? To answer this question we must first define the agenda of Octavian's propaganda more precisely. Propaganda is especially issued in order to solve certain problems of the persons in charge. What were Octavian's problems in 29 BC? To what extent did Virgil respond to his needs and problems in the Jupiter prophecy?

In 29 BC Octavian had achieved a decisive victory in the civil wars. His problem was now, how to celebrate his victory in the best way, and to be accepted *by all Romans as their legitimate ruler.* In the Jupiter prophecy Virgil drives both points home for Octavian. He celebrates him by depicting him as a great victor (*spoliis Orientis onustum*), reinforced by deification. Octavian climbs the stairs to heaven. Moreover, Virgil presents Octavian as the legitimate ruler by emphasizing his genealogical descent from Iulus, Aeneas' son. He makes Octavian acceptable to *all Romans* by depicting the victory in the civil war as a victory in a foreign campaign and by emphasizing that there is general peace now.

Octavian had one more specific problem to solve: the general distrust of the Romans in peace after such a long period of civil wars (some twenty years) and, thus, in the continuity of his reign. In other words, Octavian was fighting scepticism and a deep feeling of insecurity. The Jupiter prophecy is a means to cope with this distrust, scepticism and feeling of insecurity. First, Virgil emphasizes the traditional elements of Octavian's reign: *cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus/ Iura dabunt* (292-293). As another device to achieve this goal, Virgil underlines the closing of the gates of Janus. He reinforces credibility by presenting the closing as definitive. Virgil pays even more attention to this by defining peace as the main

characteristic of a new era: *aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis* (291). In my view, the prophecy was meant in the first place as a reassurance of Virgil's audience: on the surface it is Venus who is soothed; underneath the surface it is Virgil's contemporary audience. The literary antecedent, Naevius' prophecy of Jupiter in the *Bellum Punicum*, made the prophecy even more credible, because, via this, the audience expected it to be true. The specific god who gives the prophecy, Jupiter, raises the same expectations of truth. As the Roman state god he was considered the most powerful, honourable and trustworthy god. Another element that reinforces the credibility of the prophecy, finally, is the setting of the speech: an intimate dialogue between two family members. Jupiter may have been inclined to deceive inept mortals, but not his beloved daughter. In other words: Virgil's literary transformation perfectly fits the needs of Octavian's propaganda.

An eye-catching literary device in Jupiter's historical sketch is the strong parallelism between Aeneas and Octavian (A and B, see above). Since this parallelism explains the connection of the *Aeneid* with contemporary history, one could be inclined to believe that we have something like Virgil's personal vision of Roman history here. Nevertheless, I do not think that there is anything clearly personal in this respect. In his official propaganda, Octavian associated himself with Aeneas, as one can see, for instance, in the conception of the *Forum Augustum*, or in the way in which he methodically stimulated the *lusus Troianus*, or the cults of Venus and Vesta.

Nor is the emphasis on the importance of Romulus a personal invention of Virgil, since, as was shown above, Octavian associated himself explicitly with the founder of Rome in his propaganda. Virgil does the same here as other Augustan poets, like Propertius and Ovid, namely rehabilitate Romulus even for his crime. There, however, one may detect a personal touch in the reunion of Romulus and Remus (*Remo cum fratre Quirinus* [...] *iura dabunt*, 292-293). We have no evidence that this aspect was part of the Romulus cult installed and stimulated by Octavian. The message of this reunion is, of course, that the civil war has come to an end and that there is

peace now. Do we indeed have something personal here, which Wlosok has defined as Virgil's "Friedensgedanke"? Does the emphasis Virgil puts on the closing of the gates of Janus, point in the same direction?

From the literary analysis above it has become clear that Virgil presents the closing of Janus' gates as the climax of Octavian's endeavours. Did Octavian himself present it in the same way? Of course, the closing was an important event, but only one in a series of very important events in 29 BC. But there may be something more to this. As we have shown above, Virgil describes a painting by Apelles which he saw for himself (possibly during the festivities of 29 BC) and which was dedicated to the temple of Janus. On this painting, a male person in chains was depicted, sitting on a heap of weapons. Next to this person Alexander the Great was depicted in full ornament on a war chariot, characterized by Pliny the elder as *Alexandro in curru triumphante.*[110] Of course Alexander was not celebrating a triumph as the Romans did, but the Roman Pliny interpreted the painting in this way. Now Virgil interpreted the male figure sitting on a heap of weapons as a personification of *Furor*, the outrageous 'anger of war', by which he means more precisely 'civil war'. One may wonder if this is the meaning Apelles had in mind when creating the painting. Alexander's court painter clearly wanted to glorify the great Macedonian king in the first place. One wonders whether a personification of 'War in chains' would have been appropriate to this aim. It would have meant that Alexander wished to present a concept of general peace, like Octavian did in 29 BC. I cannot believe that this was the case. The Macedonian warrior king, the conqueror of the world, was not likely to offer peace. His *Arete* was too closely associated with *war*, and he was, although he gained everything, eager to gain more and certainly not willing to stop by himself. Thus, in my opinion, the sitting figure in chains was not meant by Apelles as a personification of 'War', let alone of the 'outrageous Anger of war', but as a personification of the 'Conquered Enemy'. And

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[110] Plinius, *N.H.* XXXV, 93 *(Apelles pinxit) Belli imaginem, restrictis ad terga manibus, Alexandro in curru triumphante.*

Alexander is depicted as the triumphant victor over the conquered and helpless enemy in chains. Thus, did Virgil in the Jupiter prophecy offer a personal interpretation of the painting? If so, does this imply a personal interpretation of contemporary Roman history?

To answer these questions, we must return to Octavian's official propaganda. There certainly is a "Friedensgedanke" in the Jupiter prophecy, but this is very much in keeping with Octavian's propaganda of 29 BC. The sequence of the celebrations in 29 BC shows that the closing of the gates of Janus was the climax: it was the final and concluding event. Octavian himself was very pleased with this, as can be deduced from the pride with which he mentions the closing of the gates of Janus in his autobiography.[111] Dio, too, clearly states, with respect to the decisions of the senate about the celebrations of 29 BC: 'Nevertheless, the action which pleased him [Octavian] more than all the decrees was the closing by the senate of the gates of Janus, implying that all the wars had entirely ceased.'[112] Thus, in the Jupiter prophecy (and in other places in the *Aeneid*) Virgil does not proclaim a personal "Friedensgedanke," but a "Friedensgedanke" that is entirely in accordance with Octavian's official propaganda.

Could one say that Virgil was even more peaceful than Octavian? Possibly. This may be deduced from the emphasis on a special cult of *Romulus cum Remo*, for which, as it was said, there is no evidence that is was part of Octavian's official propaganda. Nevertheless, it is far from certain whether we are really dealing with a personal conviction of Virgil here. The lack of evidence is not much more than an *argumentum ex silentio*, which is always tricky. Moreover, even if it were an invention of Virgil, it would be very much in keeping with Octavian's propaganda of PAX and reconciliation after the civil wars.

Finally, what about the painting? True, the interpretation of the sitting male figure as the personification of *Furor*, which is the 'outrageous Anger of war', may have been Virgilian. But

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[111] *Res gestae* 13; cf. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 22, 1.
[112] Cassius Dio LI, 20, 4.

how idiosyncratic was this? Did Octavian himself, and other Romans, interpret the sitting male figure in chains as the 'Conquered Enemy', in accordance with Apelles' and Alexander's intention? It is of course difficult to prove this with certainty. We have, however, two indications, that this may not have been the case. The most important is the place, where the painting was put in 29 BC: in the temple of Janus on the Forum Romanum. Janus was the god of war (*Bellum*). Which gift would have been more appropriate to the god of war than a painting with a personification of the god himself? Second, the other Roman authors, who mention the painting, Pliny the Elder and Servius, both interpret the sitting figure as a personification of 'War' (*Bellum*).[113]

One can, however, also argue the opposite. The dedication of the painting to Janus would also have been appropriate if Octavian (and contemporaries) had interpreted the sitting figure as the 'Conquered Enemy'. The picture would in this case have been interpreted as a powerful symbol of Octavian's decisive victory. In this case, Octavian would have identified himself with the conqueror of the world, Alexander the Great. Since the closing of the gates of Janus was the result of Octavian's decisive victory, the dedication of the painting would have been entirely appropriate also with this meaning. We have an indication, that this indeed may have been the case. A pitiful by-effect of the dedication to the closed gates of Janus was, that the propagandistic value of the glorious identification with Alexander the Great was almost zero, as long as the gates of Janus were closed. I think that this argument stimulated Augustus to re-dedicate the painting in 2 BC, when he opened the Forum Augustum and gave a new place to the painting there, close to the entrance of the Mars Ultor complex. Thus, Servius remarked *ad loc.*: *Non in aede Iani, sed in alia, in foro Augusti, introeuntibus ad sinistram fuit Bellum pictum et Furor sedens super arma, devinctus eo habitu, quo poeta dixit.* On the Forum Augustum, in the Mars Ultor complex, it was very appropriate for Augustus to identify himself with

[113] Plinius, *N.H.* XXXV, 93 *Belli imaginem, restrictis ad terga manibus;* Servius, *ad Aen.* I, 294-6.

the glorious conqueror of the world. But this, however, does not exclude with certainty that the male figure was interpreted as the personification of 'War'. It seems, therefore, safe to arrive at a double conclusion. In both cases, Virgil gave a personal touch with respect to the interpretation of the painting. If Octavian interpreted the painting as the personification of the 'Conquered Enemy', it was a more conspicuous personal touch, if he interpreted it as the personification of 'War', it was a slight personal touch. In both cases, however, Virgil did not act against Octavian's official propaganda, since PAX and the end of civil strife was its central concept.

Thus, in all these respects, Virgil neatly met Octavian's propagandistic needs. But do we possibly have, with respect to the Caesar question, a kind of *personal voice*? Did Virgil, for instance, deliberately create an ambiguity with respect to the identity of the Caesar? Can we deduce a personal view on contemporary Roman history from this? There is, as it was shown above, in any case nothing that would justify O'Hara's conclusion that Virgil intended to discredit Octavian's regime. But can we speak of ambiguity in a proper sense? I do not think so. After our analysis it is difficult to maintain that Virgil's contemporary audience felt really uncertain about which person was meant or about the contents of the propaganda presented in this passage. Only a person who lived in another age and who was unfamiliar with the events of 29 BC, like Servius, may have had real doubts about the agenda of the propaganda. What Virgil builds up in lines 286-290, one may call rhetorical and literary suspense: in lines 286-290 the audience was already very much able to guess who and what is meant, although this was not *totally* certain; from line 291 on there was no doubt left. The suspense Virgil builds up may be compared to the announcements of famous people in shows, proceeding from unspecific to more precise. But it is probably even more decisive that prophecy requires vague formulations: prophecy should leave some room for interpretation, and Virgil carefully created this room, as he did in his other prophecies in the *Aeneid*. However, this does not mean that he wanted to characterize Jupiter's prophecy as false and misleading. The

vagueness of the prophecy rather increased the literary plausibility, and this rendered the prophecy all the more powerful.

A literary commemoration of the events of 29 BC was surely very welcome to Octavian. The medium of a poem had a certain extra value compared to the festivities of that year. This extra value can be explained by the parameters of space and time. In space, the effectiveness of the festivities, including the remaining monuments, was limited to the people in Rome. But Virgil's literary version would reach also those outside Rome, potentially all readers of Latin literature in the whole empire. For the ceremonies the aspect of time is especially important. Their effect was limited to a single moment, unless they were memorized in art and literature.

But there is even more. Virgil incorporated the events of 29 BC into a *national epic* and gave them a prominent function. He represented them as the *telos* of Roman history, the goal for which it was worthy to live and die; he connected them closely to the mythical past; he introduced them as an ideological guide demonstrating how to understand Roman history and, at the same time, how to read the *Aeneid*. Virgil could not have offered Octavian anything that was more useful from a propagandistic point of view. By doing so, he made Naevius' and Ennius' national epic poems superfluous and he gave Octavian a strong introduction as the dominator and the final goal of Roman history. In his Jupiter prophecy, Virgil deliberately surpassed Naevius by close imitation. I would like to mention the possibility that the closing of the gates of Janus was already there in Naevius' speech of Jupiter. Naevius' *telos* was the victory of the Romans in the first Punic war, which was celebrated by the closing of the gates of Janus (235 B.C.), the last time before 29 BC. By means giving Octavian a prominent position in his national epic, especially in the Jupiter prophecy, Virgil provided him with a *very strong legitimation of his power*. In the Jupiter prophecy, Virgil presents Octavian as the spider in the web of the mythological and historical constructions of the *Aeneid*. Without him the *Aeneid* would lose much of its sense.

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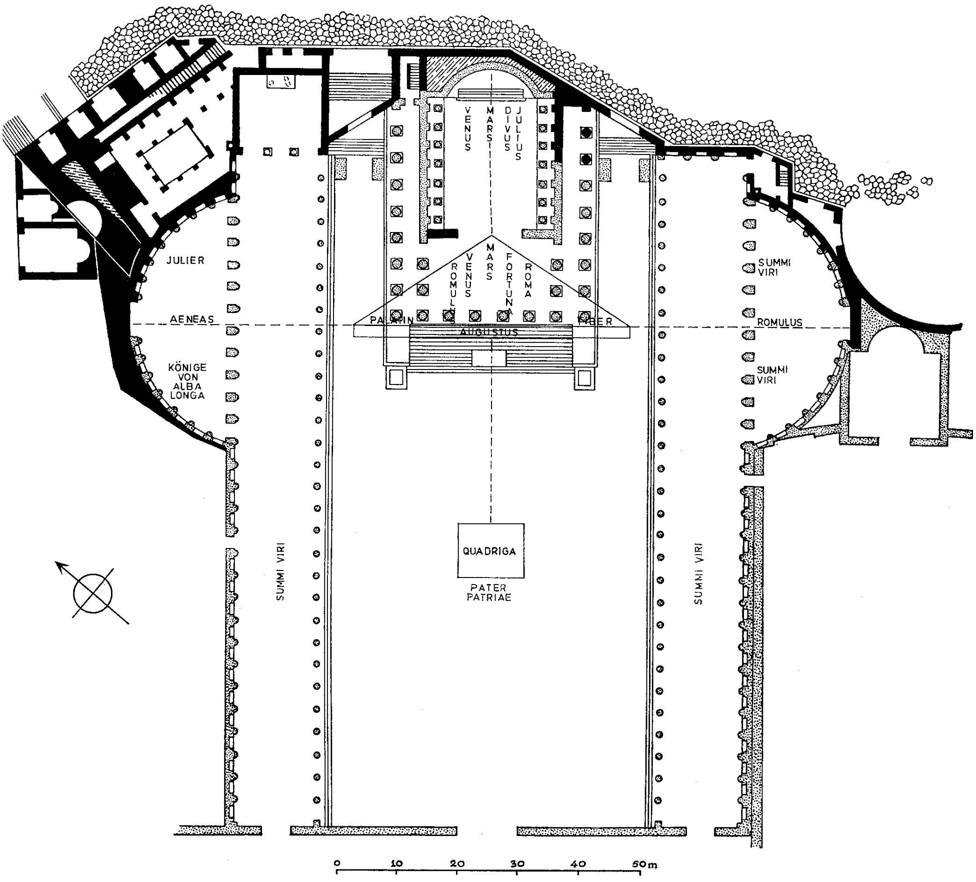

Fig. 1. Forum Augustum (map, taken from Zanker, *Forum Augustum*).

Fig. 2. Aeneas, with Anchises and Ascanius-Iulus. Wall painting from Pompei, depicting the group of statues placed in the exedra of the Forum Augustum.

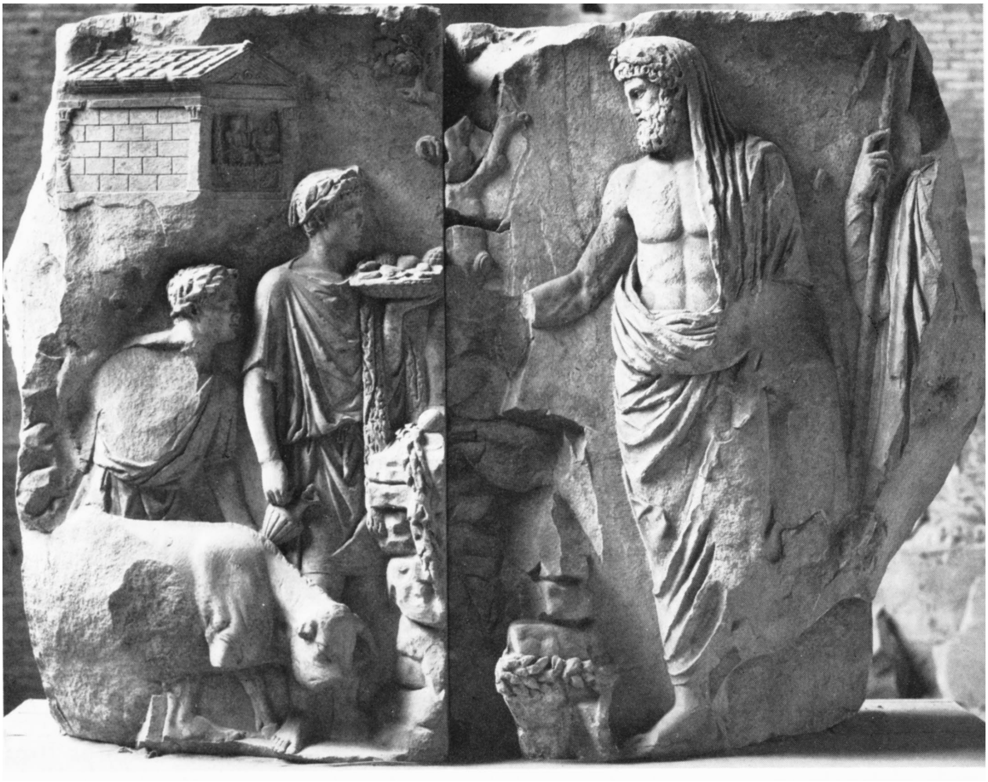

Fig. 3. Aeneas on the Ara Pacis Augustae.

Fig. 4. Venus, the mother of the Julians on a denar, probably from 29 BC (Kent, Overbeck, Stylow and Hirmer, *Die römische Münze*, Munich 1973, nr. 121, Tafel 32).

Fig. 5. Romulus with the spolia opima. Wall painting from Pompei, depicting the statue of Romulus placed in the exedra of the Forum Augustum.

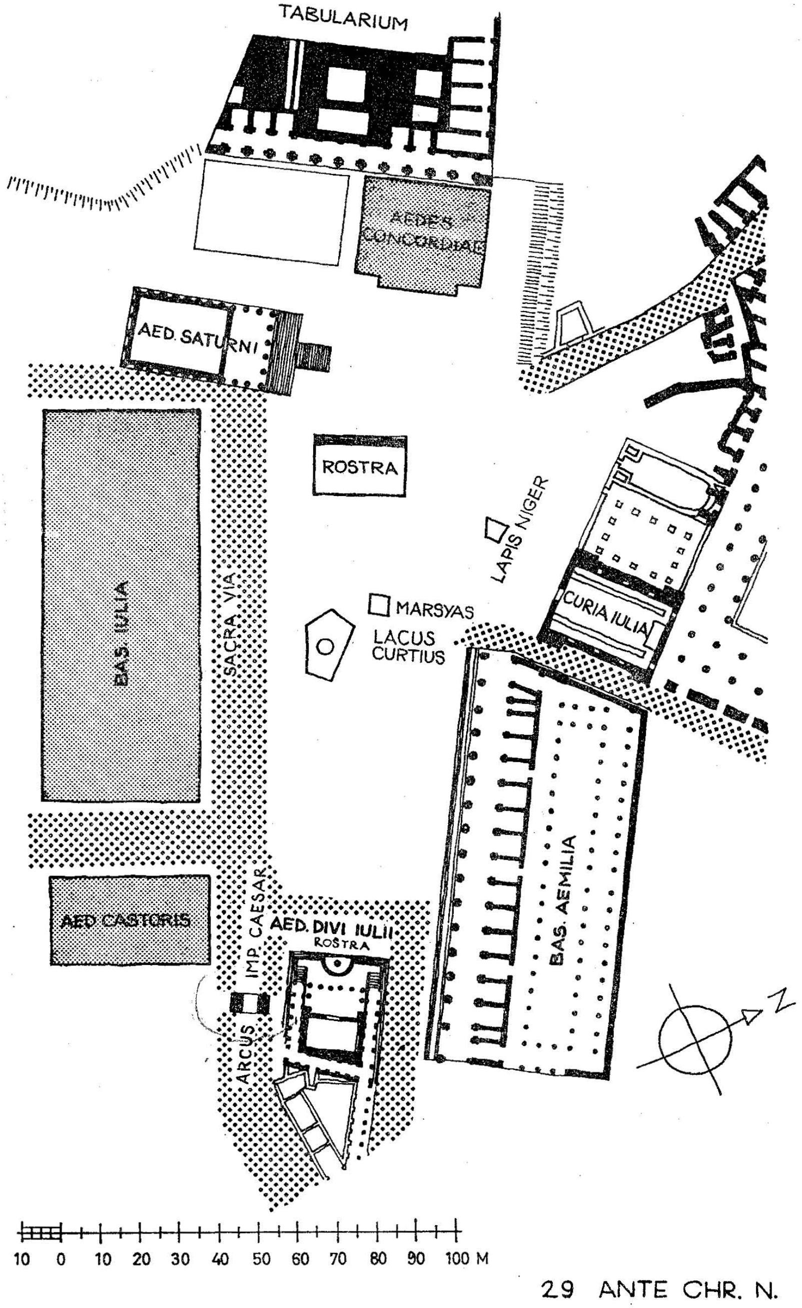

Fig. 6. Forum Augustum, 29 BC (map, taken from Zanker, *Forum Romanum*, 43).

THE CREATION OF AN IMPERIAL TRADITION: IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE HOUSE OF AUGUSTUS

Paul G.P. Meyboom

Memoriae matris,
Quae et antiquitatis amatrix
C. M. Meyboom-Puster

Introduction

If anybody was aware of the importance of political propaganda it was certainly Augustus.[1] The buildings and monuments with which he embellished Rome, as well as his personal behavior, were used to propagate his political ideas.[2] This was often done so subtly that at that time his true intentions were not always understood, and even now are still a matter of debate. On the one hand his contemporaries praised his simple style of living, his modest house, his adherence to old fashioned morals; all that made him a champion of old Republican virtues.[3] On the other hand, many buildings and

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[1] More than twenty years ago H. Jucker observed, referring to a certain aspect of the Augustan period which he wanted to discuss, that nearly everything on this period already had been said sometime, somewhere. He argued that the justification for discussing this subject once again lay in the fact that not everything had been said at the same time and the same place, and sometimes right and wrong had been lumped together (*MH* 39, 1982, 82, cf. below n. 56). Today this is even more true. My justification for bringing old and new information together lies, I hope, in the element connecting them: namely the house of Augustus. This house has several aspects that are still not clear, like its original extension and character, as well as the functions of the various parts; see below nn. 86-107, figs. 1-2. Because of the immense amount of literature on Augustus, I refrain from trying to offer complete bibliographies on each subject, and restrict myself to basic references, which illustrate certain points or serve to find further literature. See for the literature on Augustus: Kienast, *Augustus*, 'Introduction' XII-XVI, and his 'Select Bibliography' on 529-573.

[2] See Kienast, *Augustus*, 261-307, and below nn. 4 and 5.

[3] See, e.g., the often quoted passages about his modest house and way of life, the restoration of Republican virtues etc., which all made him an

monuments he erected were obviously meant to propagate the beneficial results of his government — and even un-disguisedly celebrated not only his person but also his dynasty as the necessary conditions for the Pax Augusta. Such buildings included the temple of Divus Julius, his divine father, on the Forum Romanum, as well as the Forum Augustum and the Ara Pacis with their references to the dynastic forebears and founders of Rome, Aeneas and Romulus, and to peace and prosperity.[4]

This seeming contradiction reflected his private political ideas. His purpose was the foundation and continuity of peace, justice and prosperity and the return of old Republican morality. He realized, however, that this could only be achieved by a strong, but exemplary, monarchical government that superseded the divided interests of the Republic. His goal has been the restitution of the Republic in an ideal form, as may be seen both from his moderate government and from his words and writings.[5] To ensure this, however, a price had to be paid, namely the hereditary monarchy to which he and the other descendants of Divus Julius, and of Aeneas and Venus, were

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example of the *mos maiorum* Suet. *Aug.* 72-73; Vell. 2, 89, 3-4; 2,126, 4; Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder,* 164f.; Z. Yavetz, 'The *Res Gestae* and Augustus' Public Image', in: F. Millar and E. Segal (edd.) *Caesar Augustus, Seven Aspects,* Oxford 1989, 1-36 (e.g. 14, 20), below n. 5.

[4] For the temple of Divus Julius, see *LTUR* III, 116-119, *s.v.* Julius, Divus, Aedes (P. Gros); P. Zanker, *Forum Romanum, Die Neugestaltung durch Augustus*, Tübingen 1972. It is striking that the temple of Divius Julius was built immediately in front of the Regia, which consequently was hidden from view from the Forum; moreover, a portico surrounded and united the two buildings. Thus the house of the old kings was entirely pushed into the background and incorporated into the new temple and therefore it was obvious who was the new king, see Zanker, 13, 17, fig. 24; Nash *Bildlexicon*, 1, 93, fig. 94 and fig. on 532, where the portico is erroneously called Porticus Julia, cf. *LTUR* IV, 124f. (D. Palombi). See for the Forum Augustum, *LTUR* II, 289-295, *s.v.* Forum Augustum (V. Kockel), V, 257; P. Zanker, *Forum Augustum, Das Bildprogramm,* Tübingen 1968; Spannagel, *Exemplaria Principis.* For the Ara Pacis see *LTUR* IV, 70-74 *s.v.* Pax Augusta, Ara (M. Torelli), V, 285f.; see in general Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder,* 204-212.

[5] See Elsner, 'Inventing Imperium'; Yavetz, 'The *Res Gestae* and Augustus' Public Image' *(o.c.* in n. 3), e.g., 23, Augustus as *vindex libertatis populi romani* on a coin of 23 BC; W.H. Gross, 'Ways and Roundabout Ways in the Propaganda of an Unpopular Ideology', in: R. Winkes (ed.), *The age of Augustus*, Louvain-La Neuve 1985, 29-50.

entitled by divine and historical rights. This was expressed in the monuments he built.

In this respect, I would like to discuss here the house which was excavated in the sixties and seventies of the last century on the south-west side of the Palatine, and which house is generally identified as Augustus' 'modest dwelling'.[6]

In Search for a Suitable Residence

Octavian was born as C. Octavius in his father's house somewhere near the north east corner of the Palatine.[7] Later on he no longer considered this house suitable for his political aims and he choose not to live there. His adopted father, Julius Caesar, had not left him an appropriate house either. Caesar had first lived in a modest house in the Suburra.[8] When he became Pontifex Maximus he resided in the Domus Publica next to the Regia on the Forum. This ancient building, however, will hardly have fulfilled the luxury requirements of the Imperatores of the time. It seems that the Senate decreed to present Caesar with the honour of having an appropiate house built at public expense, a privilege originally restricted to the old kings and to very important citizens.[9] However, Caesar did not live to see this happen. On the comparitively rare occasions that he

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[6] Regrettably a comprehensive and satisfying publication of this house has not yet appeared, see further below nn. 86ff.

[7] See Suet. *Aug.* 5; *LTUR* II, 45, *s.v.* Domus: Augustus (Ad Capita Bubula); I, 226 (*s.v.* Capita Bubula); I, 337 (*s.v.* Curiae Veteres); I, 143-145, *s.v.* Augustus, Divus, Sacrarium; Aedes (by M. Torelli); Royo, *Domus Imperatoriae*, 48-52 and *passim*. Only Tomei, 'Le case di Augusto', 24, n. 105, suggests that it lay somewhere near the Paedagogium on the southern slope of the Palatine because that was near the site of the later house of Augustus; see for the latter below n. 86, and fig. 1.

[8] See for Caesar's original house Suet. *Iul.* 46; *LTUR* II, 73 f., *s.v.* Domus: Caesar (D. Palombi).

[9] For the Domus Publica, which Caesar occupied formally since 63 BC, see Suet. *Iul.* 46; *LTUR* II, 165f., *s.v.* Domus Publica (R.T. Scott), fig. 75; 169 f., *s.v.* Domus Regis Sacrorum/ Sacrificuli (E. Papi), fig. 49. For the public mansion which the Senate may have decreed for him, see Dio 43.44. 6 and Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 276-281.

was in Rome he will have stayed in one of his two villas, one on the Esquiline, the other in Trastevere.[10]

At the beginning of his career, when he had become Caesar's heir after the latter's death in 44 BC and adopted the name C. Julius Caesar Octavianus, Octavian lived in the house of the late orator Calvus near the Forum, probably on the northern slope of the Palatine.[11] Later, presumably after his victory at Philippi in 42 BC, he moved to the house of Hortensius, who had been killed at Philippi.[12] It is said that Octavian's reason for

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[10] See for Caesar's Roman villas *LTUR* III, 55, *s.v.* Horti Caesaris (ad portam Collinam) (F. Coarelli), which lay on the Quirinal and formed the core of the Horti Sallustiani; and *ib.* Horti Caesaris (trans Tiberim) (E. Papi), which lay in Trastevere.

[11] See Suet. *Aug.* 72; *LTUR* IV, 238f., *s.v.* Scalae Anulariae (E. Papi), where it is assumed that it lay at the north side of the Palatine correcting an earlier view that it lay on the slope of the Capitol towards the Forum Romanum (*LTUR* II, 129, *s.v.* Domus: C. Licinius Macer Calvus (E. Papi after F. Coarelli).

[12] See for the house of Hortensius, the son of the famous orator and art collector Q. Hortensius Hortalus, *LTUR* II, 116 f., *s.v.* Domus: Q. Hortensius (E. Papi). It was probably confiscated by Octavian after Hortensius' execution at Philippi in 42 BC (see Corbier, 'Maison d'Hortensius', 889). This house has often been identified with the so-called Casa di Livia (see *LTUR* II, 130-132, *s.v.* Domus: Livia (I. Iacopi); Morricone Matini, *Mosaici*, 54-59, no. XI; Donderer, 'Zu den Häusern des Kaisers Augustus', 624f.; Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 99-101; Tomei, *Scavi francesi*, 363-370; Tomei, 'Le case di Augusto', 17-20; our fig.1, a bis). The 'Casa di Livia', whatever it may have been originally (cf. n. 33) was certainly added to the house of Augustus, because it was re-decorated ca. 30-25 BC in the same style of wall-painting as in the house of Augustus (see H.G. Beyen, 'Die neuentdeckten Malereien auf dem Palatin', *BABesch* 39, 1964, 140-143; Carettoni, 'La decorazione pittorica', 418; W. Ehrhardt, *Stilgeschichtliche Untersuchungen an römischen Wandmalereien von der späten Republik bis zur Zeit Neros*, Mainz am Rhein 1987, 13-17; Donderer, 'Zu den Häusern des Kaisers Augustus', 624f.; V.M. Strocka in *EAA*, Suppl. IV, *s.v.* Pompeiani, Stili, 419). It has recently been suggested to identify the house of Hortensius with remains of a Republican house beneath the Apollo temple, which was begun in 36 BC (see Papi *l.c.*; and Morriconi Matini, *Mosaici*, 39, no. VI). However, Suet. *Aug.* 72, describes the house quite extensively. Since Suetonius wrote more than 100 years later it would seem strange that he would describe a house which had been occupied by Octavian only in the short period between 42 an 36 BC, and was then destroyed. It seems more probable that the house of Hortensius, or at least part of it, was still visible in Suetonius' time, also because Suetonius especially mentions the fact that Augustus used the same bedroom for forty years (cf. Donderer, 'Zu den Häusern des Kaisers Augustus', 625). Moreover it must be noted that the house of Augustus which has been excavated, was ruthlessly covered by the terrace which Domitian constructed on the level of

this move was that he wanted to live near the house of Romulus. As this house lay on the south-west corner of the Palatine, the house of Hortensius must have been near to it.[13] From then on, that side of the Palatine was the focus of Augustus' plans for a suitable residence.

In 36 BC, after his victory at Naulochus, he ordered agents to buy other houses on the south side of the Palatine in order to extend his property.[14] The choice of this site to build a

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the Apollo temple, except perhaps for the upper part of the house (see Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 14 and below n. 96). Only the 'Casa di Livia' remained intact in the following centuries, which suggests a special importance. Perhaps it was indeed the house of Hortensius or part of it, although the *peperino* porticoes Suetonius mentions cannot be found in the present building. Another possibility is that the house of Hortensius is to be recognized in the remains of a late-Republican house, unearthed on the north-west side of the house of Augustus near the Scalae Caci and the Casa Romuli (see G. Carettoni, 'Una nuova casa republicana sul Palatino', *RendPontAc* 29, 1956-57, 51-62, figs. 1-5; *NSc* 1967, 287-297, figs. 3-4; Morricone Matini, *Mosaici*, 40-42, no. VII. To this same house may have belonged the fragments of floor-mosaics beneath the peristyle on the upperfloor of the house of Augustus (see our fig. 2; Morricone Matini, *Mosaici*, 33-38, no. V). This house had partly been covered by a peristyle, presumably surrounded by various rooms, however, the original state and the chronology of this area is not certain, see below n. 96, fig. 2. A wall-painting in this house is decidedly in the style of the Augustan period (reproduced in colours in Coarelli, *Roma sepolta*, fig. on p. 141, with incorrect dating to the beginning of the 1st cent. BC; cf. the wallpainting with the same slender columns in the fig. on p. 117, from the house of Augustus). Coarelli identifies this house as the house of Catulus but the *atrium* where Augustus' grandsons were taught, has not been found (see n. 14). So the Republican house may have been the house of Hortensius or that of Catullus, which was partly incorporated in the house of Augustus before the construction of the upper storey which survived Domitians reconstruction of the area (see n. 96).

13 See Dio 53, 16, 5-7. Although Dio is a late source, his observation is supported by Octavian's behaviour; see for the house of Romulus and Octavian's interest in Romulus further below nn. 17, 31, 32, 35.

14 See Velleius 2, 81, 3, speaking of several houses, cf. Tomei, 'Le case di Augusto', 24f. In the literary sources only two older houses are mentioned that were incorporated in the house of Augustus, viz. the house of Hortensius which probably came already in Octavian's possession in 42 BC (see n. 12) and the house of Catulus of which no date of acquisition is known. Concerning the house of Catulus (consul in 102 BC), we are informed that in the *atrium* of this house Augustus' grandsons Caius and Lucius were instructed by the famous grammarian M. Verrius Flaccus (see Suet. *Gramm.* 17; *LTUR* II, 134, *s.v.* Domus: Q. Lutatius Catulus (F. Coarelli); Corbier, 'Maison d'Hortensius', 891). It may not be excluded that Catulus' house partly was identical with the house of Hortensius, because Hortensius'

house was soon approved by Apollo, who, by means of a prodigy: a thunderbolt, indicated the spot where he himself would like to live on his protégé's property. Octavian readily agreed to this and vowed to build a temple for the god on this spot.[15] Subsequently the Senate decreed that a house for Octavian should be built beside it.[16]

Among many honours which the Senate granted him in 27 BC for his merits to the State and the community, he was presented with an honorary name or title. First, Romulus was suggested but this was turned down because of its negative associations with the old kings, and with Julius Caesar who had already presented himself as a new Romulus. This could have suggested a restoration of the old monarchy. Then the Senate decided to give him the new and untainted title of Augustus, the sacred or exalted one. However, because this name

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mother was a daughter of Catulus and his house may have passed to her son (see Corbier, 'Maison d'Hortensius', 887; Royo, *Domus Imperatoriae*, 114, 117). The possibility may not be excluded that the *atrium* of the Casa di Livia, although strictly spoken it is not an *atrium*, was the *atrium* of Catulus. Another possibility would be the *atrium* of the Casa di Grifi which was repaired in the Augustan period (see Morricone Matini, *Mosaici*, 29-32). It must be remembered, however, that these two *atria* are the only *atria* that have been preserved, and as there may have been many more it is quite futile to try to stick a historical name to one of these two. Altogether, archaeological remains of the following Republican houses have been found beneath, or near the Apollo temple and the house of Augustus: 1. Remains of a house beneath the Apollo temple (see Morricone Matini, *Mosaici*, 39, no.VI; cf. above n. 12). 2. Remains of floor-mosaics found beneath the peristyle on the upper storey of the house of Augustus (Morriconei Matini, *Mosaici*, 33-38, no. V, cf. above n. 12). The original rooms may have formed one house together with no. 3. 3. Remains of a house with rooms and floor-mosaics to the north-west of the house of Augustus, beside no. 2 (see Morricone Matini, *Mosaici*, 40-42, no. VI, cf. above n. 12). 4. Remains of three floors of a house on the southern slope of the Palatine that was covered by the lower terrace of the Apollo temple (Morricone Matini, *Mosaici*, 43f., no. VIII). 5. The 'Casa di Livia' (Morricone Matini, *Mosaici*, 54-59, no. I; cf. above n. 12). As we have seen already in n. 12, of these only nos. 2, 3, and 5 may in one way or another have had some connection with the houses of Catulus and Hortensius, but in no case is there convincing evidence.

[15] For the votation of the Apollo temple see Suet. *Aug.* 29, 3; Dio 49, 15,5; Gros, 'Apollo Palatinus', 50; for the prodigy sent by Apollo see below n. 44; for the temple see below n. 57.

[16] For the Senate's decree for a house for Octavian see Suet. *Aug.* 29, 3; Dio 49, 15, 5; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 277f.; see for the house further below nn. 86-107.

clearly referred to the Augurium Augustum with which Romulus had founded Rome, by association it presented Octavian as the new augur, as the founder of a new era in the history of Rome. So Octavian's wish to associate himself with Romulus was still recognized by the Senate.[17]

Two houses were traditionally attributed to Romulus, one on the Capitol and one on the Palatine.[18] We must therefore ask ourselves why Octavian did choose the site of the house of Romulus on the Palatine for his own house, as this site was so un-practically remote from the Forum, the administrative centre of Rome. This choice is the more striking because in 36 BC the Senate once again offered him the office of Pontifex Maximus which had been held by Caesar until his death in 44 BC. The offer implied that he could use as his residence the Domus Publica, which lay next to the temple of Divus Julius. This would certainly have strenghtened his position as Caesar's successor. However, since Caesar's death Lepidus had been holding the office of Pontifex Maximus, and Octavian declined to accept the office while the holder of it was still alive. Perhaps this was a true reason, but it may also have conflicted with his plans for the future.[19] His professed preference for a site in the neighbourhood of Romulus' house on the Palatine

[17] See Suet. *Aug.* 7, 2 (quoting Ennius: *Augusto augurio postquam incluta Roma condita est*), and 95; Dio 53, 16, 7-8; Flor. 4, 12, 66. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 190; Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 163f., 273f.; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 315-318; Kienast, *Augustus*, 93, n. 45. When Octavian received his first consulate in 43 BC, this was inaugurated by the Augurium Maximum of 12 vultures which had also appeared to Romulus when he was to found Rome (Suet. *Aug.* 95; Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 163; below n. 44). This signalled the beginning of a new golden age when Romulus-Quirinus would be the lawgiver again (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 292). From then on Octavian was, like Romulus, considered *augur optimus* and might be depicted holding the augur's staff, the *lituus* (Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 163f.; Kienast, *Augustus*, 220). See for the association of Romulus-Quirinus with Caesar, Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 175-190, and with Augustus, Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 162-165; Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 15, n. 38. Actually also other great Romans who had saved the state, like e.g. Marius, were honoured with the name Romulus, see Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 177f.

[18] See resp. *LTUR* I, 241 f. *s.v.* Casa Romuli (Area Capitolina); V, 234; below n. 112; and *LTUR* I, 242-245, *s.v.* Casa Romuli (Cermalus), V, 234 (both by F. Coarelli), below n. 32.

[19] See Dio 49, 15, 3; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 277; for the Domus Publica above n. 9, below n. 76.

may be explained by the fact that this site was closely associated with the mythical origins of Rome. Moreover, the earliest settlement in the history of Rome had been built here (fig.1, f). High and dry above the marshy Tiber bank, secure from pirates, the earliest inhabitants had been able to control the ford in the Tiber and the eastern Tiber bank. From prehistoric times this site formed a crossroad from the coast to the interior, which included the ancient salt-road, later called the Via Salaria. Here the first bridge in the history of Rome had been constructed, the Pons Sublicius; also the earliest market places were situated here, later named the Forum Boarium and the Forum Holitorium.[20]

It appears that the earlier houses where Octavian lived, or could have lived, lacked the mythological and historical connections of the south-west corner of the Palatine. It were exactly these connections Octavian was intending to use, in order to legitimate his political aims.

We will now shortly consider the myths concerning the origins of Rome, and several monuments related to these myths, which together helped to shape Octavian's ideas for a Roman Imperial tradition.

The Settlement of Euander and the Visit of Aeneas

Hoc quodcumque vides, hospes, qua maxima Romast,
ante Phrygem Aenean collis et herba fuit;
atque ubi Navali stant sacra Palatia Phoebo,
Euandri profugae procubuere boves

All that you see here, stranger, where mighty Rome
 now stands,
was a grassy hill before the coming of Phrygean Aeneas

[20] See Cornell, *Beginnings of Rome*, 48-53; Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 17-23, 59-70; *LTUR* II, 295-297, *s.v.* Forum Boarium (F. Coarelli); IV, 112f., *s.v.* Pons Sublicius (F.Coarelli); and more extensively F. Coarelli, *Il foro boario, dalle origini alla fine della repubblica*, Rome 1988, 107-127.

> and where now stands the Palace sacred to Apollo Navalis,
> rested the cattle of exiled Euander (Propertius IV, 5A, 1- 4).

According to an ancient tradition, the earliest settlement of Rome was founded in the twelfth century BC on the Palatine by a group of fugitive Arcadians with Euander as their leader.[21] Steps connected this settlement to the Tiber bank. These steps were called the Scalae Caci, after the monster Cacus who had lived nearby on the Aventine (fig. 1, b).[22] Hercules had rescued the inhabitants of the settlement from this monster. In gratitude an altar had been dedicated to him, the Ara Maxima near the Tiber bank, on a site later called the Forum Boarium. A feast in honour of Hercules was instituted and celebrated there every year on the 12th of August.[23]

On one such occasion Aeneas, the leader of a group of fugitive Trojans, arrived at the same site; an event extensively related by Virgil in book 8 of the *Aeneid*. The *Aeneid* was written between 29 and 19 BC and in this book Virgil collected all the ancient traditions concerning Aeneas' coming to Latium, and created a national epos in which his hero Aeneas foreshadowed the advent in Rome of his descendant Augustus.[24] Euander showed Aeneas the sites that would be of importance in Rome's future, in which Aeneas' progeny would ultimately play the most prominent part. These sites included, as far as we are concerned here, the Lupercal, where Romulus and

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[21] See for Euander and the origins of Rome: *Enc. Virg.* II 437-445, *s.v.* Euandro (D. Musti); Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 76-80; Cornell, *Beginnings of Rome*, 68-73.

[22] See *Enc. Virg.* I 593-595, *s.v.* Caco (E. Montanari); *LTUR* IV, 293 f., *s.v.* Scalae Caci (P. Pensabene); Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 106; Tomei, *Scavi francesi*, 114-121.

[23] See Virg. *Aen.* 8, 98-305; *Enc. Virg.* I, 257 f., *s.v.* Ara Massima (F. Castagnoli); *Enc. Virg.* II 361-363, *s.v.* Ercole (K. Galinsky); *LTUR* III, 15-17, *s.v.* Hercules Invictus, Ara Maxima (F. Coarelli). F. Coarelli, *Foro Boario* (*o.c.* in n. 20) 61-79; Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 42-44, 141f.; Cornell, *Beginnings of Rome*, 68-73.

[24] See in general Binder, Aeneas und Augustus; for Aeneas also *Enc.Virg.* II, 221-231, *s.v.* Enea (P. Grimal), Cornell, *Beginnings of Rome*, 63-68; *Aenea nel Lazio, Archeologia e mito, Bimillenario Virgiliano* (1981); Spannagel, *Exemplaria Principis*, 162-177; for his meeting with Euander Virg. *Aen.* 8, 98ff., Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 45-75.

Remus were tended by the she-wolf, and the Palatine with the humble house of Euander.[25]

Aeneas' son Ascanius, also called Iulus, would found Alba Longa and his descendant Romulus would be the founder of Rome. A group of old Alban families, called the Trojan families, deduced their descent from Aeneas and Ascanius. After the destruction of Alba these families, among which the Gens Iulia, settled down in Rome. In the third century BC the Trojan origin and the descent from Aeneas and Venus had become accepted as the origin of the Roman people in general. Julius Caesar used the old family legend to strengthen his claim for royal power.[26]

Virgil concludes book 8 with a description of the shield of Aeneas on which, among other things, a picture of early Rome and the battle of Actium were represented. In the centre of the shield was depicted the triple triumph of Aeneas' descendant, Octavian, in 29 BC[27] Thus through the decoration of Aeneas' shield his arrival in Rome became a pre-figuration to the advent of his triumphant descendant Octavian.[28]

The Foundation of Rome and the Casa Romuli

According to another legend, somewhere in the eighth century BC, a basket containing two infant princes was washed ashore on the bank of the river Tiber at the foot of the Palatine. They were Romulus and Remus, from the house of the

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[25] See Virg. *Aen.* 8, 337-368; Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 112-141; *Enc.Virg.* IV, 546 f., *s.v.* Roma (F. Castagnoli), 545 fig. 2; Royo, *Domus Imperatoriae*, 183, fig. 34. See for the Lupercal where Romulus and Remus were tended by the she-wolf below n. 30.

[26] See Virg. *Aen.* 1, 257-277; 6, 788-793; *Enc.Virg.* I, 363-366 (*s.v.* Ascanio) (E. Flores). See for the Trojan families and Julius Caesar, Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 4-17; P.S. Gruen, *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome*, Ithaka (NY) 1992, Ch. I, 'The making of the Trojan Legend', 6-51; Spannagel, *Exemplaria Principis*, 172f., 176f.

[27] See for Aeneas' shield Virg. *Aen.* 8, 26-731 ff.; *Enc.Virg.* IV, *s.v.* Roma, 537-544 (N. Pavan), 547 f., (F. Castagnoli) 739-742, *s.v.* Scudo di Enea (G. Ravenna); Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 150-269. See for the triple triumph, Verg. *Aen.* 8, 714-728; Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 258-269; below n. 59.

[28] See Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 272.

kings of Alba Longa, which descended from Aeneas. The twins were reared by a she-wolf in a cave at the foot of the Palatine, the Lupercal, near the first steps of the stairs of Cacus (fig. 1, *c*). Around 750 BC these twins would found Rome.[29] In the Augustan period the Lupercal was part of a sacred grove, which contained among other things statues of members of the Julio-Claudian family.[30]

On the top of the south-western corner of the Palatine was a *templum augurale,* one of the sites where according to tradition Romulus had studied the auguries in order to found his new town, the Roma Quadrata, including his own house, the Casa Romuli. Besides, ancient sources mention the Auguratorium and a Roma Quadrata, which apparently was not Romulus' town but a monument commemorating its foundation. It is possible but not certain that these names refer to the same *templum augurale* and their location and character remain disputed. Traditionally the Auguratorium was identified as a rectangular base of a small structure between the temples of the Magna Mater and Victoria, for which, however, there is no reason (see fig. 1, *d.1*). Pensabene identifies the Auguratorium as the remains of a structure adjacent to the south side of a monument which probably was the Casa Romuli (see fig. 1, *d.2*). Furthermore Pensabene locates the Roma Quadrata in the peristyle of the house of Augustus (see fig.1, *d.3*). Coarelli, however, identifies the Roma Quadrata as a square monument on the podium in front of the Apollo temple (see fig. 1, *d.4*).[31]

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[29] See for the legend of Romulus and Remus, Cornell, *Beginnings of Rome*, 60-63; Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 153-156; *Enc.Virg.* IV, 570-574, *s.v.* Romulo (G. Maddoli); Spannagel, *Exemplaria Principis*, 171, 177-205.

[30] See for the Lupercal, Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 120f.; Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 16, n. 41; 103-105; *Enc. Virg.* III, 282-284, *s.v.* Lupercale (F. Castagnoli); *LTUR* III, 198 f., *s.v.* Lupercal (F. Coarelli); Cecamore, Palatium, 115; it has not been found.

[31] See for the Auguratorium on the Palatine, *LTUR* I, 143, *s.v.* Auguratorium (F. Coarelli), V, 230; Coarelli, *Il Foro*, 1, 102, fig. 33; Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 93-99; Pensabene, 'Venticinque anni di ricerche', 89-93, who does not entirely exclude the possibility of the traditional identification with the small building between the temples of the Magna Mater and Victoria. See for the Casa Romuli and for the presumed *templum augurale* to the south of it n. 32. See for Romulus' Roma Quadrata, *LTUR* IV, 207-209, *s.v.* Roma Quadrata (F. Coarelli); V, 287; Tomei, *Scavi francesi*, 83-109; Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 1-17 (esp. 14), 70-84;

The Casa Romuli should probably be identified as the remains of an archaic house, enclosed in a Republican structure, immediately beside the top of the Scalae Caci (see fig. 1, e).[32] The Curia Saliorum, where Romulus' augural staff, the *lituus,* was kept must have stood in the direct neighbourhood of these monuments.[33]

To the west of the Casa Romuli some remains of the earliest settlement in this area have been uncovered, which date from the eighth/seventh century BC. These remains consisted of houses of the same type as the Casa Romuli which were made of wattle-work daubed with clay and had thatched roofs, of which only the rock-cut post-holes remain (fig.1, f).[34]

So Octavian's choice for the site of his house was obviously meant to make it the successor to the houses of Euander and of Romulus.[35]

Cecamore, *Palatium,* 15-21, 32-34. See for the location of the monument called Roma Quadrata in the peristyle in the house of Augustus, Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 70-84; 'Elementi architettonici', 163-168; for its location before the Apollo temple, see F. Coarelli in *LTUR* IV, 207-209, fig. 82, *s.v.* Roma Quadrata; further *LTUR* II, fig. 149; IV, fig. 82. However, according to Gros, 'Apollo Palatinus', 55, the figure before the Apollo temple depicted on the Forma Urbis Romae, which Coarelli identifies as the Roma Quadrata, actually represents the famous altar with the four statues of cows made by Myro. Moreover, Cecamore, *Palatium,* 27f., fig. 21, assumes that the position of this figure in the Forma Urbis Romae is not correctly reconstructed and that it should be identified with a large Flavian base lying to the west of the Apollo temple.

[32] See for the Casa Romuli, Dion. Hal. I 79, 11; Plut. *Rom.* 20; *LTUR* I, 241 f., *s.v.* Casa Romuli (Cermalus), (F. Coarelli); V, 92, *s.v.* Tugurium Faustuli (F. Coarelli); Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus,* 137-140; and Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 59-70, esp. 64, 69, figs. 18-20; 'Venticinque anni di ricerche', 80f.; Royo, *Domus Imperatoriae,* 280, fig. 55. Its construction was the same as that of other archaic houses on the Palatine (see Vitr. 2, 1, 5). Virgil obviously used it for his description of the house of Euander, see Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus,* 127-140, esp. 137. The existence of the Casa Romuli is still mentioned in late antiquity.

[33] See for the Curia Saliorum, Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus,* 190-194; Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 9f., 99-103; *LTUR* I, 335f., *s.v.* Curia Saliorum (D. Palombi). Its exact location on the Palatine is unknown (*LTUR l.c.*) whereas Pensabene, 99-103, suggests that it may have been located in the western part, the so-called *atrium,* of the Casa di Livia (see fig. 1, a bis, and above n. 12).

[34] See Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 17-23, figs. 2-4; Vitr. 2, 1, 5.

[35] Euander's house, called by Virgil *regia,* is not only modelled on the Casa Romuli, but also prefigures the houses of Romulus and Augustus, see

The Temple of the Magna Mater

The connection between the south-west corner of the Palatine and the mythical origins of Rome was an old tradition, as will appear from the following event. During the crisis of the Second Punic War a new goddess was brought to Rome from Asia Minor: Cybele, the Magna Mater Deorum. In 204 BC a temple was founded for her by the censors C. Claudius and M. Livius exactly on the south-west corner of the Palatine (fig. 1, g).[36] The introduction of the cult of the mother goddess from Asia Minor and the erection of a sanctuary within the Pomerium are more understandable, when we see that the Magna Mater was believed essentially identical to the Mater Idaea, the mother of Aeneas who lived on Mount Ida near Troy. For that reason the Magna Mater was not considered a foreign goddess. In Rome she became known as the Aeneadum Genetrix and Venus Genetrix, the progenetrix and protectress of the Trojan families in general, and of the Gens Iulia, and thus of Caesar and Octavian, in particular. Caesar would dedicate his Forum Iulium to her.[37] Her first temple in

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Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 137-140; Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 8-17; Tomei, 'Le case di Augusto', 32f.

[36] A Sibylline oracle predicted that no foreign invader could be driven out of Italy before the image of the Idaean Mother was brought from Pessinus to Rome (Livy 29, 10, 4; Ovid *Fasti* IV, 255-265). See for her temple *LTUR* III, 206-208, *s.v.* Magna Mater, Aedes (P. Pensabene) with earlier literature, Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 34-41; 'Venticinque anni di ricerche', 81-89; Tomei, *Scavi francesi*, 136-141; T. Mattern, 'Die Magna Mater Temple und die augusteische Architektur', *RhM* 107, 2000, 141-153; Cecamore, *Palatium*, 114-128; F. Bömer, 'Kybele in Rom', *RhM* 71, 1964, 130-151; Th. Köves, 'Zum Empfang der Magna Mater in Rom', *Historia* 12, 1963, 321ff.

[37] See for this identification already Hom. *Il.* II, 820f.; further e.g. Ovid, *Fasti* IV, 255-265; Pensabene in *LTUR* III, 206; T.P. Wiseman, 'Cybele, Virgil and Augustus', in: T. Woodman and D.West (edd.), *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus*, Cambridge 1984, 117-128; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 15, 18; *Enc. Virg.*, 1, 770-774, *s.v.* Cibele (G. Arrigoni), 1, 478-484, *s.v.* Venere, esp. 482 (F. Piccirillo); Spannagel, *Exemplaria Principis*, 162, n. 465; L.E. Roller, *In search of God the Mother. The cult of Anatolian Cybele*, Berkely 1999, 270f. See for Venus Genetrix, R. Schilling, *La religion romaine de Venus* (*BEFAR* 178), Paris 1954,

Rome was built on the site that overlooked the spot where her son and protégé Aeneas had first set foot on Roman soil.

The Temple of Victoria

Beside the temple of the Magna Mater stood the temple of Victoria, possibly on the site where a cult of her had previously existed and which, to the general belief, had been founded by Euander. The temple for Victoria was built there in 294 BC, after the Roman victory in the Samnite wars (fig. 1, h).[38] By nature Victoria was an important goddess to the imperialistic city that Rome was, and as Victoria Caesaris and Victoria Augusta she was to play an important role in the cult of the Roman State and the Emperors. Moreover, she was often associated and even identified with Venus Genetrix; the Ludi Veneris Genetricis were also called the Ludi Victoriae Caesaris.[39] The association of the Victoria temple on the Palatine with Augustus may have been strenghtened by the fact that the *dies natalis* of her temple was the first day of the month Sextilis (= the 1st of August), the date on which Octavian had taken Alexandria in 30 BC In fact it was on that date that he conquered the supremacy over the Roman Empire. Later in 8 BC the month Sextilis was renamed Augustus, in memory of the capture of Alexandria as well as of other important events which had happened in that month, such as Augustus' triple triumph in 29 BC. Finally, in 2 BC, the 1st of August was also made the *dies natalis* of the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum

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esp. 296-323; Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 157f.; Weinstock *l.c.* and 84-90; Spannagel, 174-176.

[38] See Dion. Hal. I 325; 33, 1; *LTUR* V, 149 f., *s.v.* Victoria, Aedes (P. Pensabene); Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 26-31; 'Venticinque anni di ricerche', 77-80; Cecamore, *Palatium*, 114-128.

[39] See for her cult in general, J.R. Fears, 'The Theology of Victory at Rome; Approaches and Problems', *ANWR* II 17, 2, 1981, 736-826. See for Victoria and Venus, Schilling, *La religion romaine de Venus* (*o.c.* in n. 37) 271f.; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 83-101; for their games Weinstock, 91f., 156.

Augustum.[40] Thus the Victoria of the Palatine became closely related to the Princeps.[41]

So, instead of choosing a more practical domicile near the Forum, Octavian chose a site which was especially connected with the mythical origins of Rome. His house stood immediately beside the Auguratorium, the house of Romulus and the temples of the Magna Mater and of Victoria, and overlooked the area of the Forum Boarium and the Ara Maxima where Aeneas had arrived (see fig. 1). This makes it clear of which importance Octavian considered the ideological associations of this site to be. By settling on the spot of Aeneas' arrival, where there was a sanctuary of his divine mother, and where Romulus had lived and founded Rome, Octavian presented himself as the new Aeneas, the new Romulus, and founder of a new Rome, protected by his divine progenetrix and by Victoria. Moreover, befitting his *pietas* and his general policy, Augustus had all these monuments restored or rebuilt in the course of time.[42] At last a descendant of Aeneas ruled over Rome once again. Thus the new house in itself became the legitimation of the exalted position of the occupant.[43]

The Temple of Apollo

> si Palatinas (Apollo) videt aequos aras,
> remque Romanam Latiumque felix
> alterum in lustrum meliusque semper
> proroget aevom.
>
> 'May he (Apollo), if he looks with favor on the altars of the Palatine, prolong the Roman power and Latium's

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[40] See for Victoria Augusta, Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 111f.; Fears, 'The Theology of Victory' (*o.c.* in n. 39), 804, 824; see for the date of 1st August as *dies natalis* of the temple of Mars Ultor and the Ludi Martiales, Dio 60, 5, 3; Weinstock 157; Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 34; and extensively Spannagel, *Exemplaria Principis*, 40-59.

[41] In contrast to the Victoria whose famous statue was erected in the Curia and who always remained the goddess of the city of Rome, see Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 50f., 111.

[42] See Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, 108-110; Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 16; Augustus *Res Gestae* 19-20.

[43] Cf. above n. 35 and Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 157-161, 221, 270-274.

> prosperity to cycles ever new and ages ever better!'
> (Horace, *Carmen Saeculare* 65-68, transl. C.E. Benett, Loeb 1924)

However, these existing associations with the chosen site were not enough for Octavian. Other gods were involved to legitimate and propagate his claim to monarchy. The first and most important was Apollo who stuck a thunderbolt into the southern side of the Palatine, where Octavian was planning his new house. This was an Augurium Maximum, an augury of the highest importance, and the augurs explained it as a sign that Apollo also wanted to live there. Octavian made room for him and he started to build a splendid sanctuary, the temple of Apollo Palatinus, beside the house he was constructing for himself (fig. 1, i).[44]

The principal idea of a house combined with a sanctuary of a tutelary deity had been introduced in Rome by Pompey who had built his house next to his theatre with its sanctuary of Venus Victrix, and by Clodius who had built a shrine for Libertas beside his house. The examples for such combinations can be found in the palaces of Hellenistic kings.[45]

Apollo was a newcomer among the important gods of the Roman State but Octavian's decision to associate himself with him was well considered. In the *Iliad* Apollo was already the protector of the Trojans. In the *Aeneid* both Apollo and Venus were instrumental in guiding Aeneas to his final goal, the arrival in Latium.[46] In Rome Apollo must have been one of the first Greek gods to be more or less accepted by the Roman State. This is made clear by the fact that in the time of the old kings the Sibylline Books were transferred from Apollo's sanctuary at Cumae to the temple of Jove on the Capitol.[47] How-

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[44] See for Augurium Maximum or Optimum above n. 17; for thunderbolts as a prodigy of the highest importance see Cic. *Div.* 2, 43; 2, 74; Verg. *Aen.* 7, 141ff.; 8, 525f.; 9, 630f.; and in general *Enc. Virg.* 1, 400-415, *s.v.* Augurium (P. Catalano). See for the foundation of the temple of Apollo Palatinus: above n. 15; for the temple below n. 57; for the house of Augustus below nn. 86ff.

[45] See below n. 64, and for the Hellenistic background n. 106.

[46] See *Enc. Virg.* I, 220-222, *s.v.* Apollo (A.G. McKay); V, 478-484 *s.v.* Venere (F. Piccirilo); Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 110f., 139; cf. e.g. Aeneas' prayer to Apollo at Cumae mentioned in n. 57.

[47] See Gagé, *Apollon romain*, 24-53.

ever, he remained relatively unimportant and his first temple in Rome, the Apollo temple In Circo (Flaminio), outside the Pomerium, was dedicated in 431 BC by the consul Cn. Iulius. Since then he seems to have remained a favourite god of the Iulii.[48] In 212, during the Second Punic War, the Ludi Apollinares had been instituted in the hope of victory over Hannibal.[49] At the beginning of the first century BC Apollo had become generally popular with the Roman warlords who saw him as a god of victory and the proclaimer of a new era.[50] Caesar himself was born on the principal day of the Ludi Apollinares, and in 45 BC he financed these games. Caesar also began to construct a large theatre beside the temple of Apollo in Circo for the scenic games. Eventually, Octavian completed the building of this theatre, and, after the death of Marcellus, he dedicated it to this nephew.[51]

At the time of Caesar's death in 44 BC Octavian was staying at Apollonia (Illyria), waiting to take part in Caesar's eastern

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[48] On the site there existed already before an area sacred to the cult of Apollo, Livy 3, 63, 7. See further *LTUR* I, 49-54, *s.v.* Apollo, Aedes in Circo (A. Viscogliosi) V, 224f.; La Rocca, *Amazzonomachia*, 15-20; Gagé, *Apollon romain*, 99-110, below n. 60.

[49] See Livy 25, 12; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 13; La Rocca, *Amazzonomachia*, 16; Gagé, *Apollon romain*, 280-418; *Der neue Pauly* 7, 482 *s.v.* Ludi Apollinares; the first day fell on the 13th of Quintilis/July, but soon it extended over more days; see also below nn. 50-51.

[50] See Alföldi, 'Redeunt Saturnia Regna', 174-189; for example Sulla, who claimed descent from the consul P. Cornelius Rufus, the founder of the Ludi Apollinares who adopted the cognomen Sulla as an abbreviated form of Sibylla, see Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 13; Gagé, *Apollon romain*, 421-478; A. Alföldi, 'Redeunt Saturnia Regna' V, zum Gottesgnadentum des Sulla, *Chiron* 6, 1976, 143-158. Even shortly before the battle of Philippi (42 BC) Brutus and Cassius issued coins with the bust of Apollo to indicate that they were fighting with his support, see Weinstock 14, and n. 6.

[51] Caesar was born on the 13th of the month Quintilis, which was the first day of the Ludi Apollinares, see n. 49. In 44 BC this month was renamed after him: July, see Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 13, 156f.; cf. also 19f. From the 20th – 30th of July the Ludi Victoriae Caesaris or Veneris Genetricis were held, see n. 39. In 45 BC Caesar's birthday became a public festival, and in 42 it was transferred from the 13th to the 12th of July in order to avoid a clash with the principal day of the Ludi Apollinares, see Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 157, 206f. So the entire month of July was devoted to Caesar and his tutelary deities. See for the Ludi Apollinares of 45 BC, Dio 43, 49, 1; see for Caesar's theatre beside the temple of Apollo in Circo, Dio. 43, 49, 2; *LTUR* V, 31-35, *s.v.* Theatrum Marcelli (P. Ciancio Rossetto), esp. 31.

campaign and in the meantime studying at the famous school of rhetorics of Apollonia. There he was informed of Caesar's death and that he had been adopted by the dictator and made his chief heir. Unsure what to do, being only nineteen years old, he consulted the famous astrologer Theogenes, at the time an inhabitant of Apollonia, who hailed him as the future Emperor. Octavian then decided to return to Rome and claim his inheritance.[52] Considering his lifelong dependency on prodigies (commonly believed to be a token of his *pietas*) we may assume that Octavian did believe that the revelation of his future at Apollonia had been a sign that the god of the Iulii approved of his adoption.[53]

From this time on we find a close connection between Octavian and Apollo.[54] At Philippi in 42 BC his password was

[52] See Suet. *Aug.* 8, 2; 83, 94, 12; Kienast, *Augustus*, 215, 231. Already since 46 BC Octavian had been touring through Greece and had studied in Athens and Apollonia, accompanied by his friends Agrippa and Maecenas. See for Apollonia *EAA* I, 480-482; K. Brodersen (ed.), *Antike Stätten am Mittelmeer. Metzler Lexikon*, Stuttgart and Weimar 1999, 222-224. Although it is not expressly stated, it seems probable that Octavian went to consult Theogenes after he heard of Caesar's death and his adoption; Agrippa and Maecenas may have advised him in deciding to accept his inheritance. Apollonia's importance for Octavian appears from the fact that he granted the city autonomy. At Apollonia Apollo was worshipped as Apollo Agyieus, and he and Diana were represented by a column or a *baetylus*, also called Agyieus. With Augustus connected this image of Apollo may be found on coins, issued after the victory of Actium in 31 BC; see *LIMC* II, pl. 281, nos. 22-23; V. Fehrentz, 'Der Baitylos in der römischen Wandmalerei', *KJVFG* 24, 1991, 85-90, fig. 1; and also in some wall-paintings in the houses of Augustus and Livia (see Fehrentz in *LIMC* II, pls. 280f., nos. 13 and 19). Because of the appearance of this cult-image on coins issued after the victory of Actium, it is usually associated with Apollo of Actium. However, the aniconic image of Apollo was characteristic for north-western Greece in general, and also appear on coins of Apollonia (see *LIMC* II, *s.v.* Apollon Agyieus 327ff. (F. Balestrazzi), pl. 279, nos. 2, 3, 9). So it may be just as well that the columns and *baetyli* in Augustan wall-paintings refer to Octavian's experience at Apollonia, or to Apollo in a more general way, then to the Apollo of Actium, see for further discussion of the *baetylus*, Gros, 'Le bois sacré', 53, 60.

[53] Like Pius Aeneas, Augustus consciously observed the divine signs, see Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 11; Kienast, *Augustus*, 214f. See for examples of his superstition, Suet. *Aug.* 90-92, 96; e.g. the battles of Naulochus and Actium, below nn. 56, 58; and the founding of the temple of Apollo Palatinus, n. 44.

[54] In Rome the story circulated that Augustus' mother had conceived him from Apollo, who had taken the form of a snake, in the temple of

'Apollo', and in 40 BC Virgil predicted in his fourth *Ecloga* the reign of Apollo as the result of Octavian's policy.[55] Octavian attributed the victory at Naulochus in 36 BC to the help of Apollo's sister Diana, who had an old sanctuary nearby.[56] After the omen given by Apollo that same year, Octavian founded a temple for Apollo on the Palatine in Rome on the spot indicated by the god, so now within the Pomerium.[57] The victory in the battle of Actium in 31 BC he attributed to the help of Apollo, who had a famous sanctuary there.[58]

Deliberately the returning Octavian arrived on the 12th of August in 29 BC, like his forebear Aeneas centuries ago, at the foot of the Palatine on the Forum Boarium. From the 13th till the 15th of August Octavian's magnificent triple triumph took place. Virgil has given an impression of this triumph in his description of the scenery decorating the shield of Aeneas. In this

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Apollo in Circo; a story which apparently served to legitimate his adoption into the gens Julia, see Dio 45.1,2; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 14. See for the common belief that kings and great men might descend from gods in general, Weinstock, 19.

[55] See for the name of Apollo as a password, Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 15; Val. Max. 1.5.7; but his opponents also claimed to fight with Apollo's support; cf. above n. 50. See further Virgil *Ecl.* IV, 6 -10. According to a story, which is perhaps apocryphic, Octavian appeared , sometime around 40 BC dressed as Apollo at a banquet where the guests were dressed as the twelve gods, see Suet. *Aug.* 70, 1; Weinstock, 15; Kienast, *Augustus*, 230f., n. 91. For further examples of this assimilation, see Zanker, 'Apollotempel', 21, n. 4; Gurval (*o.c.* in n. 58) 94-98.

[56] See Appian *BC* 5, 484; Dio 49, 8, 1 and 3; Kienast, 231, n. 93, w. lit.; see for Naulochus *EAA* V, 6-8, s,v, Milazzo (Mylae). Octavian's camp was in the suburb of Artemisium, lying around a sanctuary of Artemis; cf. coins with the image of Diana and the legend SICIL, see H. Jucker in *MH* 39, 1982, 85, figs. 7-9.

[57] See for the circumstances above nn. 15, 44. See for the temple extensively Gros, 'Apollo Palatinus'; *LTUR* V, 225; Nash, *Bildlexicon*, 1, 31, figs. 22-24; Zanker, 'Apollotempel'; Tomei, *Scavi francesi*, 141-156. According to Virgil, *Aen.* 6, 56-71, Aeneas had already promised in a prayer to Apollo at Cumae that he would build this temple for Apollo, the helper of the Trojans, in gratitude for leading him and his companions to Latium. At the same time he promised to found the Ludi Saeculares and to place the Sibylline oracles in the temple of Apollo Palatinus, see Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 99; and below nn. 66, 72.

[58] See Kienast, *Augustus*, 231, n. 93, with lit.; Gagé, *Apollon romain*, 478-522, fig. 5; Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 238-258; Virg. *Aen.* 8, 704-706; R.A. Gurval, *Actium und Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1995). For the town of Actium see *Antike Stätten am Mittelmeer* (*o.c.* in n. 52) 279-281.

picture the central position has Octavian, who, sitting on the threshold of the temple of Apollo Palatinus, receives the presents offered to him by the conquered nations (cf. fig. 5).

> Ipse sedens niveo candentis limine Phoebi
> dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis
> postibus.
>
> He himself seated on the snowwhite threshold of radiant Apollo,
> reviews the presents of the nations and hangs them on the proud
> portals (*Aen.* 8, 720f.).

This is not an historical fact because in reality the triumphal procession ended at the temple of Jove on the Capitol. Virgil does not describe the real end of the triumph but its ultimate result, namely Augustus and the temple of Apollo Palatinus as the new centre of power of the Roman Empire.[59] A year later, on the 9th of October 28 BC the dedication of the splendid temple of Apollo Palatinus took place. At the same time Octavian also ordered that the temple of Apollo in Circo should be rebuilt magnificently.[60]

The temple of Apollo Palatinus stood on a podium, 9 m high, roughly 33 m wide and 66 m deep. Before and to the east of the podium there was a long terrace, the so-called Area Apollinis, with a courtyard and two libraries, the famous portico of the Danaids, and a garden (*silva*).[61] On this same terrace,

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[59] See Dio 51, 19 and 21-22; Virg. *Aen.* 8, 714-728; Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 258-270; for the motive of Augustus sitting in front of the temple, Gabelman, 'Schlussszene'.

[60] See for the dedication of the temple of Apollo Palatinus the references in n. 57; see for the temple of Apollo in Circo *LTUR* (*l.c.* in n. 48); La Rocca, *Amazzonomachia*, 83-102; A. Viscogliosi, *Il tempio di Apollo in Circo e la formazione del linguaggio architettonico augusteo*, Roma 1996.

[61] See for the temple n. 57; for the Area Apollinis and the portico of the Danaids, Gros, 'Apollo Palatinus', 55; Tomei, *Scavi francesi*, 141-156; Royo, *Domus Imperatoriae*, 146-148, various reconstructions on pls. III, IV; M.J. Strazzula, *Il principato di Apollo, Mito e propaganda nelle lastre 'Campana' del tempio di Apollo Palatino*, Rome 1990, 97-135, esp. 102-105; L. Balensiefen, 'Überlegungen zu Aufbau und Lage der Danaïdenhalle auf dem Palatin', *RhM* 102, 1995, 194-209; Gros, 'Le bois sacré'. See for the libraries constructed in fine *opus quadratum*, which have been excavated ca. 1870 and covered

at the west side of the podium stood the house of Augustus, lying around another courtyard and partly even extending into the podium (see fig. 5, 1-5). Moreover, an internal ascending passage led from the courtyard of Augustus' house to the terrace upon the podium on which the temple stood (fig. 2, no. 3, and fig. 6).[62]

So the Princeps literally lived on the threshold of the Apollo temple as described in the passage quoted from Virgil's *Aeneid*. The existence of the passage leading to the temple is the more striking because no other access to the temple's terrace has been preserved. Perhaps there was an access at the back but it seems improbable that there were stairs or other means of access at the front and the sides of the podium.[63] It looks as if the Apollo temple were a private shrine on a monumental scale. This unique relation between temple and house demonstrates the intimate connection between the respective occupants: the god and his living representative.[64]

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again, Tomei, *Scavi francesi*, 274, figs. 68, 87 (= our fig. 3), 195; Tomei, 'Le case di Augusto', 10, fig. 4.

[62] See for the house of Augustus below 86ff. For the passage see Carettoni, 'La decorazione pittorica', 388-390, fig. 5 pls. 98, 99; Carettoni, *Das Haus des Augustus*, 45-51, fig. 6, pl. N; Gros, 'Apollo Palatinus', 57. figs. 35, 36; Kienast, *Augustus*, 234f.; Royo, 146-150.

[63] See for the lack of a monumental access at the front side of the podium, Royo, *Domus Imperatoriae*, 148, who compares it to a more or less contemporary temple at Assisi (his fig. 28). In that case, however, there are two symmetrically placed stairways hidden by a screen wall; compare to this arrangement the podium of the temple of Venus Genetrix, *LTUR* V, figs. 140-142. In the case of the temple of Divus Julius, the podium could be reached from the back-end of the sides (see n. 4).

[64] Roman houses traditionally had shrines for the household gods and other tutelary divinities. In the later Republican period we find that several political and military leaders built near their houses sanctuaries for their tutelary deities, and that these sanctuaries — although essentially private ones — achieved a more or less public character because of their monumentality. This probably happened after the example of Hellenistic royal palaces, which often were more or less closely associated with the sanctuary of the tutelary deity of the dynasty (see below n.106). Already the Gracchi had dedicated a sanctuary to Libertas which became a symbol of their political ideals (see Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 133-137) and in 58 BC Clodius dedicated the notorious shrine to her beside his house on the northwest corner of the Palatine (see *LTUR* II, 85f., *s.v.* Domus: P. Clodius Pulcher (E. Papi); III, 188f., *s.v.* Libertas 1 (E. Papi). In 70 BC, G. Caecilius Metellus Pius had dedicated a shrine to Isis which was called the Iseum Metellinum.

The next decade of Augustus' reign was dedicated to the consolidation of the Principate and the Empire. Then Augustus thought that the time had come to announce the beginning of a new *saeculum*, a new age, the Saturnia Regna, the Regnum Apollinis, which had been foretold by Apollo long since.[65]

The beginning of the new age was celebrated by the Ludi Saeculares which were held from the 1st till the 3rd of June in the year 17 BC. The culmination point of the Ludi Saeculares was the recitation by choirs of boys and girls of Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*, followed by a prayer to Apollo said by Augustus himself.[66] It can hardly have been otherwise then that Augustus did this on the podium directly in front of the Apollo temple, after having ascended to the terrace along the passage from his house (cf. fig. 5).[67]

We do not know whether it was situated near his house but it was obviously a shrine for a private tutelary deity, *LTUR* III, 110-112, *s.v.* Iseum Metellinum (Reg III) (M. De Vos); M.J. Versluys, *Aegyptiaca Romana, Nilotic Scenes and the Roman Vieuws of Egypt*, Leiden 2002, 336-338. Pompey the Great justified the construction of his magnificent theatre by dedicating it to his tutelary goddess Venus Victrix. The theatre, crowned by her shrine, lay next to his villa, see *LTUR* III, 78f., s.v. Horti Pompeianorum (V. Jolivet); *LTUR V*, 120f., *s.v.* Venus Victrix, Aedes (P. Gros); F. Coarelli, *Campo Marzio*, 1997, 546. See for the relation between Apollo and Augustus further n. 75.

[65] See for the Regnum Apollinis, Virgil *Aen.* 6, 791-794; 8, 319-320; *Enc. Virg.* I, 412-418, *s.v.* Aurea (aetas, saecula) (M. Pavan); IV, 637-641 *s.v.* Saeculum (U.G.A. Bertinelli); Gagé, *Apollon romain*, 415-594; Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 84-101, 274-278; 281f.; Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, 171-196; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 90-100; Kienast, *Augustus*, 109-118, 223-228; Alföldi, 'Redeunt Saturnia Regna', and the series of articles which he published under the same title, see *Chiron* 9, 1979, 553, n. 1.

[66] The founding of the Ludi Saeculares had been vowed already by Aeneas, see Virgil, *Aen.* 6, 70, above n. 57; see further Gagé, *Apollon romain*, 629-637; Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 99; Kienast, *Augustus*, 109-118, 223-225; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 100-106.

[67] See for the ascending passage, n. 62. Besides Augustus, also Agrippa and the other 13 augurs took part in this ceremony, see Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 102; Kienast, *Augustus*, 117. Compare also Virgil's picture of Augustus sitting in front of the Apollo temple (Virgil quoted above, cf. n. 59) with the assumption of Gabelman, 'Schlussszene', that audiences of the kind described by Virgil in reality took place in room 1 of Augustus' home (see fig. 2, no. 1, and below n. 90). Whether Virgil meant it litterally or symbolically, in either case he could use the phrase *sedens limine Phoebi.*

The appearance of the Princeps, probably in the company of other priests, high above the crowds on the lower temple terrace and in the Circus Maximus, may well have reminded the public of the manner in which the old kings and their Republican successors had appeared on the top of the Capitol and on the Auguraculum upon the Arx (cf. fig. 5).[68] Such an association may not have been fortuitious because somewhen in these years coins were issued depicting the heads of Augustus and Numa (fig. 8). Numa Pompilius was the second of the Roman kings and was still well remembered because he had given laws and religious institutions to the young community. Augustus apparently wanted to present himself as a new Numa, a new giver of *leges et mores*. He may have felt that a new phase in his life's work had begun. Like Romulus, the warrior king, he had founded the state by force of arms; subsequently like Numa, not only the prince of peace but also Augustus' remote ancestor, he organised a civilized society.[69] The

[68] See for the appearance of the old kings on the Arx and the Capitol, among whom Numa Pompilius plays the most prominent part, Coarelli, *Il Foro*, 1, 97-107, esp. 99, 102; Plut. *Numa* 7, 5-7.

[69] See for the Numa asses, their date varying from 23 to 15 BC, their authenticity and their meaning, *RIC* II, 32, 71f., nos. 390-396; M. Grant, *The Six Main 'Aes'coinages of Augustus*, Edinburgh 1933, 103-106; J. de R. Evans, *The art of Persuasion. Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus*, Ann Arbor 1992, 142-144; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 34-37, with further literature. See for Augustus, Romulus and Numa, the prince of peace. Livy I, 19,1 and 21, 5; cf. Virgil *Aen.* 6, 775, 808-811; J. Gagé, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, Paris 1977, 95f.; P. Gros, *Aurea Templa* (*BEFAR* 231), Rome 1976, 27f.; Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 47, 155, n. 18, 191f.; Kienast, *Augustus*, 93, n. 45; for Numa and Apollo, see Gagé, *Apollon romain*, 297-347, esp. 310f. Occasionally it has been supposed that the head of Numa on the Numa asses referred to Numa as ancestor of the Calpurnii Pisones, to which family the moneyer belonged. Such a Republican display of family history seems, however, not very likely any more in this stage of Augustus' reign. Now, it is interesting to find that a tradition existed according to which Numa had a daughter who was the mother of the fourth Roman king Ancus Marcius. From this king the Marcii Reges claimed descent and proudly depicted the heads of their royal forebears on the coins they issued, see *RE* 14,2; 1535 (s.v. Marcius), 1543 (no. 9, Ancus Marcius) and 1545 (no. 24, Numa Marcius); for the coins see *ib.* nos 43 and 74; e.g. E.A. Sydenham, *The coinage of the Roman Republic*, London 1952, 111f., pl. 21, of 86 BC, depicting the heads of Numa Pompilius and Ancus Marcius. To this family had belonged the paternal grandmother of Julius Caesar and in his funeral oration for his aunt Julia in 68 BC Caesar had proudly proclaimed that the Julii descended from gods and the Marcii from

Carmen Saeculare, with its significant contents, and Augustus' appearance in front of the Apollo temple, may for the spectators have created the idea that Apollo had taken Jupiter's place and the Palatine had become the Capitol. The Ludi Saeculares and the beginning of the 'Reign of Apollo' were the culmination-point of the assimilation of Augustus and Apollo and led to their near-identification.

The Augustan complex on the south-western side of the Palatine rose above the Circus Maximus (see figs. 4-5). In the Hellenistic world a royal residence usually was erected in the neighbourhood of a theatre or stadium, as, for example, was the case in Pergamum.[70] On the southern side of the Circus Maximus was the temple of Sol, the god of the Circus. Among other games, the Ludi Apollinares had been held in the Circus since 212 BC. In 10 BC, twenty years after the conquest of Egypt, Augustus erected on the *spina* of the Circus the famous obelisk from Heliopolis, which nowadays stands on the Piazza del Popolo. This obelisk was in itself a monument of the cult of the sun; moreover Augustus specifically dedicated it to Sol. So the obelisk connected as it were the temple of Sol and the Circus to the statue of Sol in his quadriga rising on top of the Apollo temple, which illustrated the solar aspect of Apollo. Thus the obelisk underlined the coherence of the Augustan complex upon the Palatine and the Circus at the foot of it, under the tutelage of Apollo-Sol.[71]

kings (Suet. *Caes.* 6,1; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 17f.). So the descent of the Julii in the female line from Numa and Ancus Marcius must have been well known, at least in the family. It can hardly be doubted that for the funeral oration for his grandmother Julia in 53 BC young Octavius used Caesar's oration as a model, and elaborated on the subject (Suet. Aug. 8,1; cf. below n. 108). Besides, Octavius' stephfather Marcius Philippus belonged to another branch of the same family. It seems, therefore, that the head of Numa on the Numa asses was meant not only to portray in general an exemplary predecessor, but just in particular Augustus' own exemplary forebear.

[70] Cf. the example of the theatre of Pompey, with the temple of Venus Victrix and his house beside it, above n. 64; for the Hellenistic background, see below n. 106.

[71] See for the Ludi Saeculares above n. 66. For the scenographic character of the Augustan complex on the Palatin rising above the Circus Maximus, and their religious connection, see Royo, *Domus Imperatoriae*, 150. See for the statue of Sol on his quadriga on top of the Apollo temple, Gros, 'Apollo

Having acquired the office of Pontifex Maximus in 12 BC, Augustus decided in 8 BC to inspect all the collections of written prophecies circulating in Rome at the time. Subsequently he ordered that most of these should be destroyed and that a collection of authentic Sibylline oracles should be brought into the custody of Apollo Palatinus. Thus the Sibylline oracles were ultimately returned to Apollo, while the care and use of them were passed from the old kings and their Republican successors to the new augur, Augustus himself.[72] In this way Apollo took over Jupiter's role; he became the State god of the Augustan Roman Empire, while the south-west side of the Palatine became a new, alternative Capitol.[73]

Octavian's choice of Apollo as his tutelary deity was such an excellent choice because it could serve various purposes. Originally it seems to have been instigated by dynastic reasons: it legitimated his succession to Divus Julius, it supported his dynasty's connection with Aeneas and the origins of Rome, and it proclaimed him as the founder of a new golden age.

However, Apollo appeared to have even more political potential. Traditionally Apollo was the god of harmony and

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Palatinus', 54; Prop. 2, 31, 11; and Horace, *Carmen Saeculare* 2, and 9f. For the obelisk from Heliopolis, itself a symbol of the sun, and dedicated by Augustus to the sungod (*soli donum dedit*), see *LTUR* IV, 355f. *s.v.* Obeliscus Augusti; Circus Maximus (A. Grenier). For the temple of Sol in the southern part of the Circus Maximus, see *LTUR* IV, 333f., *s.v.* Sol (et Luna), Aedes, Templum (P. Cancio Rossetto) with fig. 164, reproducing a sesterce of Trajan giving a fine picture of the Circus Maximus, seen from the Palatine, with the obelisk rising in the centre and the temple of Sol in the background.

[72] See Suet. *Aug.* 31. In the Hellenistic period all kinds of collections of written prophecies had spread over Rome, which threatened the State-monopoly of the giving and explaining of prophecies, see Alföldi, 'Redeunt Saturnia Regna', 167-173; Gagé, *Apollon romain*, 542-555, 1981, 569-572. I pass over the problem whether the Sibylline books in the temple of Apollo Palatinus were the same as those in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, or whether they were a selection, or a new collection, see Kienast, *Augustus*, 235f., and n. 103. The Palatine collection was kept in the base of the cult statue of Apollo. It strikes us again that the transfer of the Sibylline oracles to the temple of Apollo Palatinus was already vowed by Aeneas, see Virgil *Aen.* 6, 71, whereas Virgil had already died in 19 BC, see nn. 57, 66, 116.

[73] Cf. Kienast, *Augustus*, 236; Gros, 'Apollo Palatinus', 56; Corbier, 'Maison d'Hortensius', 901, 904, 906f.; Gagé, 'Apollon impérial'; Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 140; Gagé, *Apollon romain*, 639-682; E. Simon, *Augustus, Kunst und Leben in Rom um die Zeitenwende*, Munich 1986, 24.

moderation, and so he was the personification of both the culture and the figural arts of classical Greece. For the sophisticated taste of the Augustan period the unrefined style of the arts of the earlier Republican period was hardly suitable for the propagation of the revival of the old Republican religious and moral standards which Augustus sought to achieve. Now the arts of the classical, and even of the archaic Greek period, became the ideal means of the propagation of the piety and morality of days bygone. It is true that the revival of the classical and archaic Greek styles had begun already in the 2nd century BC, but that had been mainly due to the artistic interest of aristocratic connoisseurs. Now these styles achieved also a moral and even a sacral quality. Moreover, already in the classical Greek world the moderate and harmonious character of Apollo and his cult had been opposed to the orgiastic cult of Dionysus. It was with Dionysus that the Hellenistic kings and their courts had affiliated themselves strongly. The most recent example, and in Roman eyes the most deplorable one, had been Mark Antony. By Antony's defeat victorious Apollo became the symbol of a moderate prince in contrast to the Oriental Hellenistic despotes.[74]

In the course of time Augustus, the exemplary classical hero and bearer of ethos, developed from being Apollo's protégé to his incarnation; and since they practically shared the same house — almost like *theoi synnaoi* — the moderate prince acquired the status of a semi-divine souvereign, like a Hellenistic king.[75]

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[74] See for classicism and archaism in the Augustan period, and the political and cultural opposition between Apollo and Dionysus, D. Mannsperger, 'Apollo gegen Dionysus', *Gymnasium* 80, 1973, 381-404; Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, 240-263; P. Zanker, 'Klassizismus und Archaismus. Zur Formensprache der neuen Kultur', in: *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik*, Berlin and Mainz 1988, 622-635; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 338-351; Kienast, *Augustus*, 454-463.

[75] For Augustus as Neos Apollo, see Gagé, *Apollon romain*, 570-581; Kienast, *Augustus*, 258. For *theoi sunnaoi* and the ruler cult in general see Kienast 244ff.; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford 1972, I, 218-221; cf. the passage from Ovid's *Fasti* quoted below with n. 81, where Ovid speaks of one house inhabited by three gods Apollo, Vesta and Augustus. In one of the libraries in the Area Apollinis a statue of Apollo was standing, resembling Augustus so much that it was wondered which one it represented; see Gagé,

The Temple of Vesta

Thus, from 29 BC Octavian, honoured with the title of Augustus in 27 BC, lived on his chosen residential site surrounded by monuments of Rome's early history and by the tutelary gods of his dynasty, which legitimated his exalted position. Then, in 12 BC, Lepidus, the holder of the office of Pontifex Maximus, finally died. Augustus had always refused to deprive Lepidus of his office while he was alive, but now he had the opportunity to obtain this major Roman religious office as well. The residence that came with the office, the Domus Publica, stood beside the temple of Vesta in the Forum and was functionally connected with it, because one of the Pontifex Maximus' duties was the care of the cult of Vesta and the Di Penates. Both these buildings stood directly to the south of the temple of Divus Julius and the Regia at the eastern end of the Roman Forum. Officially Caesar had also resided there.

Nevertheless, just as in 36 BC, Augustus refused to move into it.[76] On the one hand it may have been too small and too modest to fulfil the requirements of the residence of the Princeps. On the other hand, although it had an obvious connection with Caesar and the old Roman kings, it lacked the historical and religious associations which Augustus had connected so cleverly with his house on the south-western corner of the Palatine. He therefore decided to turn a part of his own house into another Domus Publica, and to demonstrate this he built a new sanctuary for Vesta near the monumental entrance to his house. This entrance and the Vesta sanctuary have not been preserved, but in all probability, they are depicted beside each other on the relief base at Sorrento (see figs. 1, k, and 7).[77]

Apollon romain, 535-537; Corbier, 'Maison d'Hortensius', 906f.; Kienast, *Augustus*, 258, n. 172. Compare also the representations of Augustus and Livia as Apollo and Cybele on the Vienna Cameo, below n. 82, fig. 9; and n. 106.

[76] See above nn. 9, 19.

[77] See Dio 54, 27, 2-3; *LTUR* V, 128f., *s.v.* Vesta, Ara, Signum, Aedes (in Palatio), (R. Capelli) with literature; Nash, *Bildlexicon*, 2, 511-513, figs. 1330-1332; Kienast, *Augustus*, 236f., n. 105; see for the Sorrento base *RhM* 78, 1971,

pls. 64, 66-69. Actually the existence of a second Vesta temple on the Palatine is still questioned now and then because of the sacrilege it would imply towards the original Vesta temple (see T. Hölscher, in: *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik* (*o.c.* in n. 74) 375, No. 208; Tomei, 'Le case di Augusto', 31). The most important arguments for the existence of the temple are the attention given to it by the Senate, and the phrasing by Ovid, *Fasti* IV, 949f. (see below n. 81), and also the representations of it which appear — together with the monumental façade of the house of Augustus — in the reliëf base at Sorrento (our fig. 7) and also on a reliëf in Palermo (*RhM* 78, 1971, fig. 65). In these representations the façade of Augustus' house consists of a Ionic portico which, if reconstructed, would have counted at least 14 columns, with a door with the *corona civica* in the centre of it, and the temple of Vesta beside it. The picture is so realistic that it can hardly be a symbolic representation of the façade of the house of Augustus, combined with the Vesta temple on the forum, as is suggested by Tomei, 'Le case di Augusto', 31, who believes that the entrance to the house of Augustus was situated on the north-west corner of the Palatine above the stairs leading to the Forum and the Vesta temple. However, none of the mentioned reliëfs shows any sign of these stairways, nor a difference in level between the façade and the Vesta temple. Ovid (*Tristia, l.c.* in n. 103) clearly states that the façade of Augustus' house was visible from the Clivus Palatinus, and therefore it must have been situated in the central or southern part of the Palatine. The Sorrento base, by representing the figures of Apollo, Diana and Cybele, indicates that the façade and the Vesta temple must have been situated not far from the temples of Apollo and Cybele. C. Cecamore, 'Apollo e Vesta sul Palatino', *BCom* 96, 1994-95, 9-32, figs. 3, 5, agrees with the existence of a Vesta temple on the Palatine (see also Cecamore, *Palatium*, 155, 157, fig. 53). She assumes, furthermore, that this temple was rebuilt by Vespasian, while she recognizes its traces in the remains of a circular building roughly beneath the Coenatio Iovis of the Domus Augustana. This, however, is far from certain because the remains in question have also been ascribed to Nero's Domus Aurea, cf. A. Cassatello, in *LTUR* III, 63f., *s.v.* Domus Aurea, Il complesso del Palatino, fig. 26, who identifies the remains as a Neronian pavilion. Moreover, it does not necessarily imply that the earlier Augustan temple was situated in the same place. On the Sorrento base the Vesta temple is placed to the right of the portico with the door to Augustus' house, while on the Palermo reliëf the temple is placed to the left of the portico (the part with the door is not represented). Nevertheless, it is the same temple as in both cases the characteristic statues of a bull and a ram are situated on the left and the right of the entrance to the temple. Therefore these representations do not seem to be very correct and the temple may have been placed anywhere in front of the portico. In this respect it is interesting that subterranean cryptoporticoes or corridors connect the Casa di Livia and the Apollo temple with the area of the Domus Tiberiana and the Domus Augustana; see Wiseman, *Flavius Josephus*, 107-109, fig. 2; H.A. Tomei, 'Cave e cavità sotteranee del monte palatino', in: *Il Palatino* (*o.c. sub* Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi') 155-176, esp. 169f., figs. 8-11; Tomei, *Scavi francesi*, 424-426, fig. 92, fig. 310, pls. III, V. The existence and the position of these cryptoporticoes suggest that they connected four parts of the Augustan

An important function of the old Vesta temple was the housing of the Penates Publici of Rome. These were archaic talismans which, according to tradition, had been brought from Troy by Aeneas, together with the Palladium, an archaic Athena statue. These Penates had become the safeguards of Rome. Somehow, possibly in the form of copies, they must have been transferred to the new Vesta temple on the Palatine (see fig. 7). Thus things had now come full circle: the Penates of Troy and Rome — who had been brought to Latium by Aeneas — returned to the house of Aeneas' descendant.[78]

When Augustus grew older he preferred to hold senatorial assemblies and trials in the libraries or the courtyard of the Area Apollinis, or even in his own house (figs. 1, j, and 2, no. 1).[79] Thus Augustus succeeded in assembling around his house on the Palatine all the major religious and political aspects of Roman society which originally were situated in various parts of the city. In doing this he created in fact a royal residence in the Hellenistic style.[80]

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complex, the houses beneath the Domus Tiberiana, the Casa di Livia, the Apollo temple with the Area Apollinis, and Augustan structures beneath the Domus Augustana. On the ground level above these corridors there would have been the Area Palatina, a kind of forecourt to the Augustan complex, where the monumental entrance portico and the Vesta Temple were situated; see Wiseman, *Flavius Josephus*, 109, fig. 2; Royo, *Domus Imperatoriae*, 282-285. fig. 56; Tomei, 'Le case di Augusto', 17-20, figs. 14-16, pl. I, 13-15. In our fig. 1, *k*, we only hypothetically assume that the Vesta temple was situated more or less on the same spot as the Flavian Vesta temple, reconstructed by Cecamore (*ll.cc.* figs. 5 and 53), in order to give an impression of how the original situation may have been.

78 See for the Di Penates, Binder, Aeneas und Augustus, 220-224, esp. 222; *Enc.Virg.* IV, 12-16 *s.v.* Penati (G. Radke); G. Radke, Die *dei penates* und Vesta in Rom, *ANRW* II, 17,1 (1981) 343-373; A. Dubourdieu, *Les origines et le développement du culte des Penates à Rome,* Rome 1989. See for the Palladium, Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 245f.; *Enc. Virg.* IV, 940, s.v. Palladio (F. Canciani). Presumably, Augustus presented a Palladium (a copy of the Palladium in the Vesta temple on the Forum) to the shrine of Vesta on the Palatine, which event is depicted in the Vesta temple on the Sorrento base (see fig. 7), part of which may have been preserved (see *CIL* 10, 6441; E. Paribeni, 'Una testa di Athena arcaica dal Palatino', *BdA* 49, 1964, 193f., figs. 1-4).

79 See Corbier, 'Maison d'Hortensius', 893-901; e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 29, 3; 33; Dio 55, 33, 5; 56, 41, 3.

80 See below n. 106.

The combination of religious, public and private functions which Augustus'house characterized was very well understood and expressed by Ovid in *Fasti* IV, 949-954:[81]

aufer, Vesta, diem! cognati Vesta recepta est
limine: sic iusti constituere patres.
Phoebus habet partem, Vestae pars altera cessit,
quod superest illis, tertius ipse tenet.
state Palatinae laurus, praetextaque quercu
stet domus: aeternos tres habet una deos.

O Vesta, take your day! Vesta has been received in the home of her kinsman: so the fathers justly decreed. Phoebus lives in one part of the house, another part has been yielded to Vesta; in what remains, the third part, he lives himself. Long live the laurels of the Palatine, long live the house adorned with the wreath of oak: one house inhabited by three immortal gods (transl. J. G. Frazer, Loeb 1976).

The Livia Cameo in Vienna

The complex symbolism and ideology of Augustus' house and its surroundings has also been expressed beautifully in the Livia cameo in Vienna, which depicts Livia holding the portrait of her deceased husband (fig. 9). Livia is adorned with the attributes of Cybele, the Mater Idaea, the progenetrix of the gens Julia: veil and mural crown, ears of corn and poppy-heads, and tambourine.[82] We have already seen that the

[81] The passage refers to the 28th of April, on which date the sanctuary of Vesta on the Palatine was dedicated by Senatorial decree, and made a public holiday. Ovid's phrasing and the senatorial attention suggest that they referred to a real temple and not a statue in a niche (cf. above n. 77). Augustus is called Vesta's kinsman because Aeneas was the son of Priamos, whose brother Dardanos was the father of Vesta. The same combination of household deities may be found in Ovid, *Met.* XV, 864-865: *Vestaque caesareas inter sacrata penates. Et cum caesarea tu, Phoebe domestice, Vesta.* 'Vesta, who has ever held a sacred place midst Caesar's household gods and with Caesar's Vesta, thou Apollo who lives in his house'.

[82] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Inv. Nr. IX a 95), date early Tiberian. See E. Zwierlein-Diehl, 'Der Divus-Augustus-Kamee in Köln', *KJVFG* 17, 1980, 12-53, esp. 42-44, figs. 73-74; W. Oberleitner, *Geschnittene Steine, Die Prunkkammer der Wiener Antikensammlung*, Wien 1985, 47f., fig. 28 (col.); Simon (*o.c.* in n. 73) 162, fig. 211; W.R. Megow, *Kameen von Augustus bis*

temple of the Magna Mater had been founded in 204 BC by M. Livius and C. Claudius Nero, ancestors of the *gentes* Claudia and Livia. Livia's father, a Claudius, had been adopted to the *gens* Livia. Her first husband, her second cousin T. Claudius Nero, father of the future Emperor Tiberius, was also a Claudius. So in several ways Livia was related to the founders of the Magna Mater temple and the families of those founders will have maintained some association with it. Moreover, the mansion of the Claudii, where the Emperor Tiberius was born, lay not far away to the north of the temple, somewhere beneath the so-called Domus Tiberiana.[83]

On the Vienna cameo she holds the bust of Augustus, the descendant of the Mater Idaea. He is adorned with the *corona civica* and radiate crown of Apollo-Sol, and his head is covered with his mantle, like Saturn. These aspects characterize him as the bearer of the Saturnalia Regna, the Regnum Apollinis.[84] Thus Augustus and Livia are portrayed here as the representatives of Apollo and the Mater Idaea, the patron gods of the Imperial couple and their dynasty, whose sanctuaries flank and protect the Imperial house, just as if Augustus and Livia were semi-divine Hellenistic sovereigns themselves.[85]

Alexander Severus, Berlin 1987, 254, B 15, pl. 9; Spannagel, *Exemplaria Principis*, 192, n. 681. Part of the chair in which she is sitting is shown. In her hand she holds ears of corn and poppy-bulbs, attributes of Ceres. Her unusual dress indicates that she is depicted as a priestess of Divus Augustus (see Zwierlein-Diehl 42f., n. 297). The bare shoulder had already been typical of Aphrodite-Venus since the classical period (see e.g. *LIMC* II, 137, nos. 1393, 1404, both from the Parthenon).

[83] See for the temple above n. 36. See for her family relations Suet. *Tib.* 3; *RE* III, 2, *s.v.* Claudius, nos. 254, 246; XIII, 1, *s.v.* Livius (Livia), nos. 37, 19, 18 and 33. See for the houses of the Claudii on the Palatine, Suet. *Tib.* 5; *LTUR* II, 83f., *s.v.* Domus: Ti. Claudius Nero Germanicus; *ib.* Domus: Appius Claudius Pulcher; 85f., *s.v.* Domus; P. Clodius Pulcher; 111f., *s.v.* Domus Germanici; 189-197, *s.v.* Domus Tiberiana, esp. 189 for the earlier houses. An earlier Claudia played an important part in bringing the black stone of the Mater Idaea from Ostia to Rome, see Liv. 29, 14, 12; Suet. *Tib.* 2, 3; *RE* III, 1, *s.v.* Claudius, no. 435; Bömer (*o.c.* in n. 36) 146-151; Köves (*o.c.* in n.36) 335ff.

[84] See n. 82, esp. Zwierlein-Diehl, 39-46; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 384, and above n. 65.

[85] See above n. 75; for comparable representations of the Imperial couple, see Zwierlein-Diehl (o.c. in n. 82) 44, e.g. figs. 76-77.

The House of Augustus

Having discussed the various ideological aspects of the site of Augustus' residence, we must now consider the house itself (see fig. 2). Since its comparatively recent discovery the house has generally been identified as the house of Augustus because of its close connection with the Apollo temple. This house was built within a short period of time, as appears from the unity of the construction technique and of the style of the wall-decorations. Construction began at the same time as the construction of the Apollo temple, in or shortly after 36 BC, as is clear from the fact that several rooms lay inside the podium of the Apollo temple.[86] Parts of older houses were not included ex-

[86] Before the discovery of the present house it commonly was believed that the house of Augustus was located beneath the Domus Augustana (the western part of the Flavian palace) because Ovid describes that the façade was visible from the north-side of the Palatine and because the name Domus Augustana suggests a relation with the Domus Augusti (see Tomei, 'Le case di Augusto', 8; below n. 103). See for the house of Augustus, Iacopi, 'Domus Augustus'; *LTUR* V, 244; with bibliography; see esp. the various excavation reports by G. Carettoni; Carettoni; Ehrhardt, review of Carettoni; Corbier, 'Maison d'Hortensius', 871-916; Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 174-178; Donderer, 'Zu den Häusern des Kaisers Augustus', 622- 630; Kienast, *Augustus*, 234f., n.102a; Tomei, *Scavi francesi*, 156-166, pls. III-VIII, Cecamore, *Palatium*, 215-219. The plans reproduced in Carettoni, 'La decorazione pittorica', 8, 10, and in *LTUR* II, fig. 17, are schematic, cf. our fig. 2. A detailed plan has been presented by I. Iacopi and G. Tedone in *BA* 1-2, 1990, 143, fig. 1. It has been included in a plan of the entire south-west area of the Palatine in Pensabene, 'Elementi architettonici', fig. on p.151; reproduced in Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', fig. 24; Pensabene, 'Venticinque anni di ricerche', fig. 1; and Gros, 'Le bois sacré', fig. 1. One must reckon with the fact that the entire house, except probably the top floor (see n. 96) was ruthlessly covered by a large terrace built by Domitian on the same level as the terrace of the Apollo temple, Pensabene, 'Elementi architettonici', 159-161; Gros, 'Le bois sacré', 52. The substructions of this terrace, walls and pillars, nowadays obstruct the view of the house; they have been removed in our fig. 2. For the early Augustan construction in *opus reticulatum* and *opus quadratum* in tuff, see Carettoni, 'La decorazione pittorica', 402, n. 98. See for the wall-decorations which, together with those of the Casa di Livia, date to the period of 30-25 BC, above n. 12. It is highly regrettable that since Carettoni's publications of 1983 and his earlier excavation reports, no other reports have appeared. Consequently the rooms in the southern and eastern parts of the podium of the Apollo temple have not been published, nor have the Augustan libraries, which were already discovered in the 1860's but since then have been covered again, see n. 61 and fig. 3. So as long as these parts have not been published and other possible Augustan constructions beneath the Domus

cept perhaps in the case of the top floor, lying next to the Casa di Livia.[87] The house was built against the southern slope of the Palatine and only the top floor may have risen above the slope. As far as we can tell from the remains, the house consisted of three wings built to the west, north and eastside of a courtyard, which measured ca.20 by 20 m. There were porticoes, probably double and with a second storey, before the three wings. The courtyard may have been open to the south but there may also have been another portico or a number of rooms. In each case there may have been one or more *triclinia*. Whatever the situation, the south side will have offered a view onto the Forum Boarium and part of the Circus Maximus.[88]

Only a small part of the north side of the west wing, which contains some inconspicuous rooms, has been preserved. This wing adjoined the Scalae Caci at the westside and was quite narrow. Here one enters nowadays the house of Augustus, passing through some rooms of minor importance.

The north wing contained a larger number of rooms. There was a suite of rooms opening onto the courtyard. Between these rooms and the slope of the Palatine there were several spaces, including some rooms which — because of the fine wall-decorations — must have had some special use, as well as other rooms which served mainly as servant quarters or magasins.[89] In the centre of the frontside there is a larger room measuring 6,70 by 10,50 m (see fig. 2, no.1). It has the unique

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Augustana have not been uncovered, the interpretation of the various parts of the Augustan complex remains hypothetical. The Augustan constructions, which till now have been found beneath the Domus Augustana, do not show any cohesion, see Tomei, 'Le case di Augusto', pl. 1. The following is the summary of an article in Dutch by the author, see Meyboom, 'Wandelingen'.

[87] See above n. 14.

[88] See for a hypothetical reconstruction of the peristyle, Pensabene, 'Elementi architettonici', 157, 162f., 189-192, figs. 25-27. See for courtyards with a view, e.g. the Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico and the Casa dei Cervi at Herculaneum; see Tran Tam Tinh, *La Casa dei Cervi a Herculanum*, Roma 1988, figs. 5-7; A.G. McKay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World*, Southampton 1975, figs. 17, 20. For examples of contemporary houses with dining rooms overlooking the Circus Maximus, see; Royo, *Domus Imperatoriae*, 248; e.g.; Suet. *Aug.* 45; id. *Caius* 18,6; Dio 57, 11, 5.

[89] See Iacopi, 'Domus Augustus', 47.

feature of a podium running along the backwall and partly along the sidewalls, measuring H. 0,80 m, D. 1,20 m, and L. ca. 11, 50 m, with steps at the ends. The podium and the floor were decorated with an inlay of marble pieces. This room was probably some sort of assembly room.[90] It is flanked by two narrow rooms, open at the front and reminiscent of *alae*; these rooms are flanked once again by narrow rooms with niches in the walls. These may have been private libraries as counterparts of the public libraries on the other side of the Apollo temple.[91] The rooms of the eastern wing are built inside the podium of the Apollo temple. The most important room was a *tetrastyle oecus*, measuring 6,20 m by 8,80 m. It probably was a *triclinium*, and possibly a winter *triclinium*.[92] To the north of it there is a small room with a large window opening onto the portico and to the courtyard. This room probably, was a *cubiculum diurnum*, a bedroom for the day-time.[93] To the south of the *tetrastyle oecus* there is a kind of porch opening onto the ascending passage, which leads to the top of the podium (see fig. 2, no. 3, and fig. 6).[94] The series of rooms in the lower part of the podium continues on the southside and eastside of it. These rooms have not yet been published and their functions are uncertain.

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[90] See Carettoni 'La decorazione pittorica', 384f., pl. 96; id. 1983 b, 37f., pls. 3,10; and Iacopi, 'Domus Augustus', 47 (tablinum); Coarelli, *Roma sepolta*, 116 ; and V.M. Strocka, *Casa del Labirinto* (VI 11, 8-10), Munich 1991, 91, n. 207 (*triclinium*); Gabelmann, 'Schlussszene', 290; Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 176; and Donderer, 'Zu den Häusern des Kaisers Augustus', 629 (audience room); Eberhardt 1988, 644 (sculpture gallery); Meyboom, 'Wandelingen', 180-184 (auditorium, audience- and lecture room).

[91] See for the '*alae*' Carettoni, 'La decorazione pittorica', 384-388, fig. 4, pl. 97, col.pl. 4; *id.* 1983b, 34-45, fig. 5, pl. 11, col. pl. 7; Iacopi, 'Domus Augustus', 47; for the libraries Carettoni, 'La decorazione pittorica', 381-383, figs. 2-3; 1983b, 32f., figs. 3-4; Iacopi, 'Domus Augustus', 47.

[92] See Carettoni, 'La decorazione pittorica', 393-399, fig. 7, col.pl. 7; 1983 b, 52-60, fig. 8, pl. 3, col. pls. O-P. See for tetrastyle *oeci* in general Vitr. 6, 3, 8; P. Gros, *L'architecture romaine: du début du IIIe siècle av. J.C. à la fin du Haut-Empire*, 1-2, Paris 1996-2001, 2, figs. 48, 49, 51; for winter *triclinia* see Vitr. 3, 4, 1.

[93] See for the lower *cubiculum* (as Carettoni calls it) Carettoni, 'La decorazione pittorica', 399-402, fig. 8, pls. 102f., col. pls. 9-11; 1983b, 60f., pls. 16-17, col. pls. 41-3. For a *cubiculum diurnum* of Augustus, see Suet. *Aug.*, 78 and 82, 1.

[94] See n. 62.

Above the smaller and lower rooms on the ground floor there must have been some other smaller rooms on the first floor as we can see from one preserved example, a finely decorated room above the *cubiculum diurnum* to the north of the *triclinium*. It only opens onto the westside, so the portico must have had a second storey, which probably gave access to other, not preserved rooms on this level.[95]

Finally there seems to have been a second floor nearly on the same level as the terrace of the temple podium. Traces remain of a small peristyle, surrounded by small rooms. On this floor, presumably the top floor of the house, we may perhaps imagine Augustus' 'studiolo' which was situated in the uppermost part of his house.[96] It is striking that, besides some traces

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[95] See for the existence of a second storey for the porticoes, Carettoni, 'La decorazione pittorica', 402, n. 98; Pensabene, 'Elementi architettonici', 163, 192; for a hypothetical reconstruction *ib.* fig. 27. For the room itself see Carettoni, 'La decorazione pittorica', 402-412, figs. 9, 14, 15, pls. 104-108, col. pls. 13-15; 1983b, 67-85, figs.10, 15, 16, pls. 18-21, col. pl. W; Iacopi, 'Domus Augustus' 47f.; I Iacopi and G. Tedone, 'Lo 'studiolo' di Augusto: ricomposizione e repristino', *BA* 1-2, 1990, 143-148. Carettoni calls this room, which is situated exactly above the lower *cubiculum* (see n. 93) simply upper *cubiculum*. But then he identifies it, because of its exceptionally fine decorations, as Augustus' *studiolo*, a room situated in the top part of his house, where Augustus used to retire and which was called Syracusae or Technyphion (cf. Suet. *Aug.*, 72 *locus in edito singularis*; see Carettoni, 'La decorazione pittorica', 418, 1983b, 92; followed by Iacopi, Tedone *o.c.*; Iacopi, 'Domus Augustus', 48). However, it can hardly be maintained that the upper *cubiculum* occupied an elevated position, since this was located beside the vault of the *tetrastyle oecus* (see fig. 2, no. 2) and beneath the terrace of the Apollo temple and the supposed top floor of Augustus' house on the north side of the courtyard, (cf. Donderer, 'Zu den Häusern des Kaisers Augustus', 628). See for the possible location of the *studiolo* further n. 96.

[96] Above a Republican house immediately to the south of the Casa di Livia (see nn. 12 and 14, no. 2) have been found remains of a peristyle with corner pillars of Aniene tuff and travertine column bases, supported by a cryptoporticus with loopholes (see fig. 2). On old plans may been found traces of other rooms including perhaps a *tetrastyle oecus* or *atrium* (see Tomei, *Scavi francesi*, 156-160, fig. 92 (plan from 1895), pl. III (plan from 1870), pl. VI (plan from 1888) and plans by Carettoni, reproduced in Pensabene, 'Elementi architettonici', 155, figs. 2-3). These remains usually are supposed to have been the top floor of the house of Augustus (see Morricone Matini, *Mosaici*, 33f., fig. 11, pl. E 4; G. Lugli, *Roma Antica, Il centro monumentale*, 1946, 467, fig. 135; G. Pinza, 'Nuovo Osservazione intorno al tempio di Apollo Palatino', *BC* 41, 1913, 198-224, esp. 205-208, pl. XI (= Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', fig. 21); T. Frank, *Roman Buildings of the Republic. An attempt to date them from their material*, Rome 1924, 108, dates the

of a small wooden staircase in a small room in the rear of the ground floor, there are no traces of a more monumental connection between the two storeys.[97]

Nor has an entrance been preserved. It is difficult to imagine an entrance on the west side, since it could not have been more than a backdoor because of the positon of the west wing rising above the narrow Scalae Caci. An entrance at the south side of the courtyard would have required large substructions, of which there are no traces left.[98] It therefore seems likely that the house was reached through the eastern courtyard, passing in front of the temple podium. The character of Augustus' house must have been like a terraced house built up

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construction to the same period as the Apollo temple, 40-35 BC). Perhaps the peristyle originally had a northern part, which immediately bordered on the Casa di Livia and was later erased by a Roman street. This street now runs along the south side of the Casa di Livia (perhaps in the time of Domitian when the house of Augustus was covered by a huge platform exept, as it seems, the top floor (see above n. 86), see Lugli and Pinza, *ll.cc.* referred to above; Ehrhardt, review of Carettoni, 642. Recently it has been suggested that this storey was constructed in the time of Vespasian, see Cecamore (*o.c.* in n. 77) 15, fig. 8; Cecamore, *Palatium*, 159, fig. 53. This seems, however, not very probable because the construction materials seem quite simple compared to the richly decorated structures at the other side of the Apollo temple which she attributes to the same Vespasian building activity (cf. Frank *o.c.*, 108). It is more likely that it concerned the top floor of the house of Augustus which, standing on the same level as the Apollo temple, survived the construction of the Domitian terrace. It seems quite probable that in this elevated part of Augustus' house was his 'studiolo', which had the nice outside view described by Suetonius (see n. 95).

[97] Carettoni, 'La decorazione pittorica', 375 (plan opp. 373, room 3); *Das Haus des Augustus*, 21 (plan 2, room 3); Iacopi, 'Domus Augustus', 47 (fig. 17, room 3), mentions traces of a wooden staircase in one of the small rooms adjoining the northern backwall of the ground floor. He suggests that this formed the connection between the ground floor and the first floor. It seems, however improbable, that the secluded staircase was the only way which the Princeps had to reach e.g. the gallery which led to the upper cubiculum (see n. 95). There must have been a more monumental staircase somewhere else in the vanished part of the house.

[98] See for the substructions of the courtyard area, Pensabene, 'Elementi architettonici', 162f. There may have been an entrance roughly at the point where the Clivus Victoriae reached the Scalae Caci (see Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', fig. 1 and 15 a). More to the south, the Scalae Caci would be too much below the ground floor of Augustus' house. However, the mentioned spot offers only little space, so if there was a door it cannot have been more than a side-entrance.

against the hillside, as we find elsewhere in the Roman world.[99]

Remarkable is the modest size of the excavated house. The size of the courtyard does not differ significantly from those found at Pompeii and even the two largest rooms, perhaps an assembly room and a dining room, are of a relatively modest size (see fig. 2, nos.1 and 2).[100] These rooms were certainly not sufficient for public functions, such as receptions and banquets, which the house of a man of Augustus' position would require.[101] Moreover, neither the monumental entrance, consisting of a wide portico in the style of Hellenistic palaces with the door crowned by the *corona civica,* nor the Vesta temple, which we know from various sources such as the Sorrento base, have been preserved in the present house (fig. 7).[102] From Ovid's famous description in the *Tristia* it is clear that the façade of the house was visible from the Clivus

[99] See e.g. F. Noack and K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Stadtrand von Pompeji,* Berlin 1936, pls. 21, 22, 26 above.

[100] The modest size has also been noted by Tomei, 'Le case di Augusto', 8. Cf. e.g. the second peristyle of the Casa del Fauno, measuring ca. 23-26 m; the peristyle of the Casa del Labirinto, measuring ca. 13-17 m, and the peristyle of the Casa del Menandro, measuring 12-16 m, see Gros (*o.c.* n. 92) 2, figs. 25, 35, 39. For the size of rooms 1 and 2 on fig. 2, see Carettoni, 'La decorazione pittorica', 384 and 393.

[101] Cf. Vitruvius 6, 5, 2, who (around 30 B.C) wrote that the houses of men with public functions required: '*vestibula regalia alta*' and '*atria et peristylia amplissima*'.

[102] See for the façade and the Vesta temple above n. 77. As far as the entrance may be reconstructed from the representation on the Sorrento base, it consisted of the door crowned with the *corona civica* (see Ovid. *l.c.* in n. 103), while on the right hand side a portico of seven columns is depicted. Considering that in Roman architecture axial symmetry was a constant principle, we may reconstruct seven other columns at the lefthand side of the door, a part of the relief now missing. The portico will therefore have consisted of at least fourteen columns, truly a royal vestibule (cf. Vitr. *l.c.* in n. 101; see for similar *propylaea* in Hellenistic palaces G. Brands, 'Halle, Propylon und Peristyl-Elemente hellenistischer Palastfassaden in Makedonia', in: W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (edd.), *Basileia,* , 62-72, e.g. the façade of the royal palace at Vergina (Aigai), figs. 3-6, cf. *Basileia* 16, fig. 2). In our hypothetical reconstruction of the plan of the house of Augustus (fig. 1), we followed roughly the identification of the remains of a round building beneath the Coenatio Jovis in the Domus Augustana as the Vesta temple. This has been done only to give an impression of what the original situation might have been, although this identification is far from proven (see above n.77).

Palatinus, which runs through the northern and central part of the Palatine. The excavated house, however, was built against the southern slope of the Palatine and is and was not visible from the Clivus Palatinus (cf. fig. 1).[103]

These observations suggest that the house of Augustus must have been larger than the excavated house. There must have been another part with a monumental entrance and rooms necessary for public functions. In fact it had become customary in the late Republican period to distinguish between public and private buildings in Roman mansions. This division was also influenced by the architecture of the royal residences of the Hellenistic world. For example, on the acropolis of Pergamum we find a large public palace, the *basileia*, and beside it a more modest dwelling, the *oikos*, the actual residence of the Attalid kings. The now excavated house with its modest rooms may therefor have been the Domus Privata, the private residence of Augustus. Another building that served for public functions, the Domus Publica, must have been elsewhere.[104]

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[103] Ovid's book started to climb the Palatine on the north-east side, near the temple of Jupiter Stator, passed the façade of Augustus' house and then reached the Area Apollinis, see Ovid, *Tristia* III 1, 27-68; T.P. Wiseman, *Conspicui postes tectaque digna deo.* The Public Image of Aristostocratic and Imperial Houses in the late Republic and the Early Empire, in *l'Urbs, Espace urbain et histoire. I^er siècle avant J.-C. - III^e siècle après J.-C.*, Rome 1987, 393- 413, esp. 399-403; Ch. Neumeister, *Das Antike Rom, Ein literarischer Stadtführer*, Munich 1991, 109-118, fig. on p. 110; Donderer, 'Zu den Häusern des Kaisers Augustus', 626; Royo, *Domus Imperatoriae*, 182f., fig. 33; Meyboom, 'Wandelingen', 174-177, figs. 2, 8, 10. Besides the fact that the original ground level must have been considerably lower than it is now, the only part of the house possibly visible, i.e. the north-eastern corner of the upper part, will have been largely obscured by the back of the podium of the Apollo temple and by the Casa di Livia (cf. fig.1). For hypothetical entrances on the south side of the Palatine, resp. to the west or in front of the terrace below the Apollo temple, see Royo, Domus Imperatoriae, 288-290, pls. III-IV. Wiseman *o.c.* believes that the main entrance to Augustus' house originally was on the south-west side of the Palatine and only after the fire of 3 AD was moved to the north side of the Augustan complex (cf. above nn. 77 and 89).

[104] For the distinction between public and private parts in Roman mansions and Hellenistic palaces, see R. Förtsch, 'Die Herstellung von Öffentlichhkeit in der spätrepublikanischen Wohnarchitektur, als Rezeption hellenistischer Basileia', in: W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (edd.), *Basileia*, 240-249; H. von Hesberg, 'Privatheit und Öffentlichkeit der frühhellenistischen Hofarchitektur', in: W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (edd.), *Basileia*, 84-96, fig. 5

The passage from Ovid's *Fasti,* quoted above, also suggests such a division. Ovid distinguishes between three parts. In the first place there is the house of Apollo, which obviously refers to the temple and the Area Apollinis. Secondly, Ovid mentions the house of Vesta; since the temple of Vesta traditionally was connected to the Domus Publica, he must refer to the public part of Augustus' house, which as yet has not been recovered. Thirdly, Ovid mentions the house of Augustus himself; this must refer to Augustus' private residence, the Domus Privata, after all probability the house which has been excavated at the western side of the Apollo temple.

Ovid's passage from the *Tristia* mentioned before clearly describes the monumental entrance to this complex of buildings as visible from the Clivus Palatinus, i.e. from the north. This implies that the entrance, and presumably the public part of the house, must have been situated either to the north of the Apollo temple on the site of the socalled Domus Tiberiana, or — more probably — to the north-east side of the Apollo temple, somewhere beneath the Flavian Domus Augustana.[105]

(Aigai), figs. 14-16 (Pergamon); below n. 106. Since the discovery of the present house it is often assumed that it contained public and private parts. Thus it is often supposed that the peristyle with the north and the east wings had formed the public part of the house, while the north-west part of the ground floor and the upper storeys had been the private residence (see Carettoni, 'La decorazione pittorica', 373f., *id. Das Haus des Augustus*, 18f.; Coarelli, *Roma sepolta*, 115f.; Corbier, 'Maison d'Hortensius', 892; Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 174-178; Iacopi, 'Domus Augustus', 47. It has also been suggested that the entire house had a public character and that the Casa di Livia served as private residence (see Donderer, 'Zu den Häusern des Kaisers Augustus', 629f.). Ehrhardt, review of Carettoni, 648, and Meyboom, 'Wandelingen', 180-185, assume that the house entirely had a private character. See further n.105.

[105] See for the passage from the *Fasti* mentioning the tripartition of the house, n. 81, and for the location of the monumental façade, n. 103. The existence of several, more or less separate, parts of the Augustan complex is also apparent by the underground corridors. These connected the Apollo temple and the Casa di Livia, with structures beneath the Domus Tiberiana (presumably the Claudian mansions, see n. 83) and also structures beneath the Domus Augustana, perhaps the public part of the house, with the façade and the Vesta temple (see n. 77). The presumed location of the public part beneath the Domus Augustana (actually the location which was traditionally supposed for Augustus' house, see Tomei, 'Le case di Augusto', 8) was based on the position of the façade described by Ovid (see n. 103), and on the fact that the name 'Augustana' for the western part of the Flavian palace suggests

Thus it becomes clear that the house of Augustus was an extensive complex of buildings. It consisted of sanctuaries of tutelary deities, legendary founders, public areas with porticoes, libraries and gardens, and private living-quarters. Centred on the south-west side of the Palatine, it extended as far as the later Domus Tiberiana and the Domus Augustana. Rising on the top of the Palatine above the Circus Maximus it was in every respect a Hellenistic royal acropolis (cf. fig. 5).[106]

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some connection with the house of Augustus, see Coarelli, *Roma sepolta* 113; Tomei, 'Le case di Augusto', 26-33; Meyboom, 'Wandelingen', 179f. A further argument is that Augustus' house is reported to have been destroyed by fire in 3 AD and to have been rebuilt., see Suet. *Aug.* 57, 2. The excavated house, however, which undoubtedly dates from ca. 30 BC (see n. 86) does not show any trace of fire-damage. Therefore the destroyed house probably was the public house and must have been located elsewhere (Tomei, 'Le case di Augusto', 31; Ehrhardt, review of Carettoni, 642; Donderer, 'Zu den Häusern des Kaisers Augustus', 627). Finally, it must be noted that the two main rooms in the excavated house are decorated with wall paintings, which show central pavilions combined with illusionistic views (see the references in nn. 90 and 92). These motifs were usually applied in rooms which served for entertainment in private company, cf. R.A. Tybout, 'Malerei und Raumfunktion im zweiten Stil', in: E.M. Moormann (ed.), *Functional and spatial analysis of wall-painting*, Leiden 1999, 38-50, esp. 46. When the two main rooms of the extant house, opening on the peristyle, had a private function, the entire wing must have had a private function. It is not easy to decide where the public part with the monumental entrance may have been located. The vestibule may simply have been added to the Claudian mansions beneath the Domus Tiberiana but that wing seems to have preserved its residential character under Augustus' immediate successors (see the references in n. 83). Moreover it did not have a regular connection with the excavated house, whereas a public house beneath the Domus Augustana could be connected with the excavated house by the eastern courtyard (see fig. 1). However, the Augustan remains beneath the Domus Augustana do not show much coherence and it is difficult to recognise in them a monumental building, see Tomei, 'Le case di Augusto', pl. I, nos.5-9. So the location of the vestibule remains uncertain. Anyway, the Augustan complex will have covered largely the south and west parts of the Palatine, see Tomei pl. I. That it covered the entire Romulean Roma Quadrata (like Tomei, 32f., assumes) seems somewhat farfetched in the case of the north side, because it is not confirmed by Ovid's description of the route of the Clivus Palatinus to the house of Augustus (see n. 103).

106 For Hellenistic royal palaces, which combine religious, official, social and residential functions (expressed in sanctuaries, monumental entrances, public spaces and rooms, theatres and stadiums, libraries, peristyles and gardens and residential quarters), see Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 10-16, 209-217 and *passim*; I. Nielsen, 'From Periphery to Centre: Italic Palaces', in: P. Bilde *et.al.* (edd.), *Centre and periphery in the Hellenistic world*, Aarhus 1993, 210-

Conclusion

We may conclude that for his residence Augustus had chosen a site that was pre-eminently associated with the stories of the origins of Rome and of his supposed ancestors, especially Aeneas, Venus, and Romulus. To these he added the cult of Apollo and ultimately the cult of Vesta and the Penates. Several of these aspects had originally been associated with the time of the old Roman kings, like the house of Romulus and the cult of Vesta. Before Augustus Julius Caesar had sought to connect these aspects with his own person, and added some which were connected with his dynasty, like Aeneas, Apollo and Venus. He was already preparing to present himself as the new Rex, but that provoked yet too much resistance.[107]

Essentially Augustus did the same, but more gradually and in a more subtle way. Born in a provincial family of equestrian rank, he was mainly related to the old Roman aristocracy by his maternal grandmother, Caesar's sister, Julia. His great-uncle, having no legitimate offspring of his own and recognizing his nephew's talents at an early stage, drew him into his circle. Thus in 46-45 BC we find young Octavius close to Caesar, and in 44 BC Caesar adopted him in his testament and made him his heir.[108] After Caesar's death Octavian presented himself as Cae-

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225; good examples are the palaces of Alexandria, Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 130-135, fig. 69; Pergamum, Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 102-110, figs. 53-55, pl. 58; and Antioch, Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 112-115, fig. 58; compare various aspects discussed above: founder's shrines (nn. 31, 32); tutelary deities (nn. 37, 57, 64, 77, 78); ruler cult (n. 75); public areas, incl. the Circus (nn. 61, 71, 77, 102, 104) and residential quarters (nn. 83, 86, 104). The Augustan complex on the Palatine has been compared to Hellenistic palaces, e.g. by Zanker, 'Apollotempel', 24; Gros, 'Apollo Palatinus', 57; Nielsen, 'From Periphery to Centre: Italic Palaces', 214-225; Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 178-180; P. Gros, 'Le palais hellenistique et l'architecture augustéenne: l'exemple du complex du Palatin', in: W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (edd.), *Basileia*, , 234-239. It has even been compared to the Acropolis of Athens, Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 13, and Cecamore, *Palatium*, 115, n. 121.

[107] See Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 318-341.

[108] See Kienast, *Augustus*, 1-5; Suet. *Aug.* 1-4 (family); *id. Iul.* 83,1 (testament). Already in 52 BC, 12 years old, he delivered the funerary speech for his grandmother Julia, see Suet. *Aug.* 8, 1; cf. above n. 69.

sar's son and identified himself entirely with the Gens Iulia.[109] This allowed him to adopt the same mythical and historical themes his divine father had used, to support his claim to Imperium. Octavian, however, wisely declined the name of Romulus and accepted Augustus as his new and untainted name, which nevertheless was also closely associated with Romulus.

Formally the Republic continued, but in reality the monarchy was introduced and subsequently even the hereditary monarchy and the creation of a dynasty.[110] In order to achieve this Augustus combined various elements from Roman history, mythology and religion to create a tradition that served to legitimate his Principate. This certainly was a fine example of creating a tradition for a new dynasty.[111]

We have seen that the choice of the location of his residence, the same site where the Auguratorium and the Casa Romuli stood, played an important role in the process. In this respect it is interesting to remember that another *templum augurale* existed and also another Casa Romuli, situated respectively on the Arx and on the Capitol. There was a tradition that from this Auguraculum Romulus had founded a later and more ample urban Rome with the Forum area as its centre, while the Auguratorium on the Palatine was only connected with the foundation of the earlier settlement on the Palatine. It was the Auguraculum on the Capitol that played a major part in the State rituals at the time of the kings and the Republic.[112]

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109 Nevertheless, it is only fair to remember that he honoured the memory of his early deceased father by the erection of a large honorary arch which, although its exact position is uncertain, served as a monumental entrance to the Augustan area of the Palatine, see *LTUR* I, 102, *s.v.* Arcus Octavii (F.S. Kleiner); Tomei, 'Le case di Augusto', 28f.; M.A. Tomei, 'I resti dell'arco di Ottavio sul Palatino e il portico delle Danaidi', *MEFRA* 112, 2000, 2, 557-610.

110 See e.g Kienast, *Augustus*, 92f.; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 42-79; Spannagel, *Exemplaria Principis*, 345-358; Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, 413; Gross, *o.c.* above in n. 5.

111 See for this phenomenon Elsner, 'Inventing Imperium', and in general E. Hobshawn and T. Ranger (edd.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge 1983, esp. 1-14.

112 See for the house of Romulus on the Capitol *LTUR* I, 241, *s.v.* Casa Romuli (Area Capitolina) (F. Coarelli); Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 185f.; Vitr. 2, 1, 5. See for the Auguraculum on the Arx, *LTUR* I, 142-143, *s.v.* Auguraculum (Arx) (F. Coarelli) and extensively Coarelli, *Il Foro*, 1, 97-107.

Nothing of the kind is known of the Auguratorium and the Casa Romuli on the Palatine, which therefore seem to have had more the character of historical monuments.[113] Perhaps Octavian deliberately chose the latter site for his residence; not only because of its association with the origins of Rome and his forefather Aeneas, but also because it lacked the negative associations with the old kings and their Auguraculum and the Arx. It allowed him to create a dynastic residence that could not be associated with the old kings. The centre of Roman power had returned to the site of Rome's origin.[114]
For the first time after almost five centuries, a royal residence was created in Rome that by its position and the surrounding monuments was suitable for a monarch with a divine birthright. The residences of the Hellenistic kings served as suitable examples. In order to propagate his policy Augustus used not only his public buildings but also his own house, which — departing from a modest Republican house on a historical site — gradually developed into a royal residence. Through its name, Palatium, the house on the Palatine, it became the prototype of all royal palaces in the western world.[115]

It is remarkable that already as early as 42 BC Octavian had chosen the site of the Casa Romuli on the Palatine, with its mythical associations, for his residence. Since this place was to be one of the bases for the propagation and justification of his political ambitions, it would seem that the creation of the Au-

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See for the first and second foundation of Rome, which reflect the memory of the early settlement on the Palatine and of the Etruscan urbanization of the Forum area, Plut. *Romulus* 9, 4 and 11,1; Coarelli in *LTUR* IV, 207-209, *s.v.* Roma Quadrata, esp.208; P. Gros, *Aurea Templa* (*BEFAR* 231), Rome 1976, 27f.; Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 5-7.

113 In general the preserved state of the monuments seems to go back to the late-archaic or early-Republican period, see Pensabene, 'Vent'anni di studi', 7, 11; 'Venticinque anni di ricerche', 72-77. Only the rites of the Salii are attested as being of very old origin, see above n. 33. Otherwise there is no evidence for public rituals on this site before the construction of the Victoria temple in 294 BC, see n. 38.

114 Cf. Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 139; and the aspects discussed above in nn. 24, 25, 29-35, 113.

115 See for Palatine, Palatium and palace, Dio 53, 16, 5; B. Tamm, *Auditorium and Palatium*, 1963, 57-59; Royo, *Domus Imperatoriae*, 157-171; Tomei, 'Le case di Augusto', 31 and 33.

gustan monarchy essentially was conceived already during the first years of his career. Perhaps we may assume that a group of counselors had some influence in this. Among these we can imagine his trusted friend, the erudite Maecenas, who had accompanied him while he was in Apollonia in 44, and also during the Philippi campaign in 42 BC.[116]

The ancient visitor who entered Rome from the south or west could not fail to see on top of the Palatine the residence of Augustus, as it consisted of a complex of sanctuaries and secular buildings and rose above the Circus Maximus like a royal Hellenistic acropolis.

Entering Rome from the north, the eye of a visitor was inevitably drawn to the Mausoleum, the monumental tomb surrounded by a park, which Augustus built for his dynasty from 29 BC onwards.[117]

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[116] See for Octavian's interest in Romulus in 43-42 BC above nn. 13 and 17. See for Maecenas' political ideas and his part in the founding of the Principate, J.-M. André, *Mécène, Essai de Biographie spirituelle*, Paris 1967, 64-96. Compare also the speeches which (according to Dio 52, 1-41) were held in 29 BC in front of Octavian by Agrippa and Maecenas, who respectively defended the Republic and the Monarchy, after which Octavian choose for the latter. These speeches are probably not historical facts but are presented by Dio in order to explain the political situation in 29 for his readers, to whom Maecenas, as one of Octavian's main advisers in the creation of the Principate, apparently was an acceptable figure. Maecenas influence has also been supposed in the background of the *Georgics*, which were read to Octavian by Virgil and Maecenas shortly before Octavian's arrival in Rome in 29 BC This supposition may, however, be somewhat exaggerated, see L.P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil*, 1969, 49-55. We have seen before that some important political actions in Octavian's career were already prophesied in the *Aeneid,* but only took place after the death of Virgil in 19 BC, viz. the Ludi Saeculares in 17 and the transfer of the Sibylline books to the temple of Apollo Palatinus in 8 BC, see *Aen.* 6, 69-71; Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, 99; above nn. 56, 66, 72. So also these actions may have been part of a great plan to create a moderate monarchy, conceived in the beginning of Octavian's career.

[117] See Suet. *Aug.* 100, 4; *LTUR* III, 234-237, *s.v.* Mausoleum Augusti: Das Monument (H. von Hesberg). Continuing along the Via Flaminia one encountered other Augustan propaganda monuments like the Horologium Augusti and the Ara Pacis Augustae (see *LTUR* IV, 70-74; V, 285f. and III, 35-37, V, 263).

Everything Augustus constructed — not only his public buildings but also his own house and tomb — was meant to show the Roman world that it had become a monarchy.[118]

[118] I am grateful to my friends Henk H.J. Brouwer, Miguel John Versluys, Jos P.A. v.d. Vin and Demetrius J. Waarsenburg, for their inspiring observations, to Bailey Brouwer-van Vessem for correcting the English text, and to Mady Meyboom-Hoyng for her suggestions and for typing the text.

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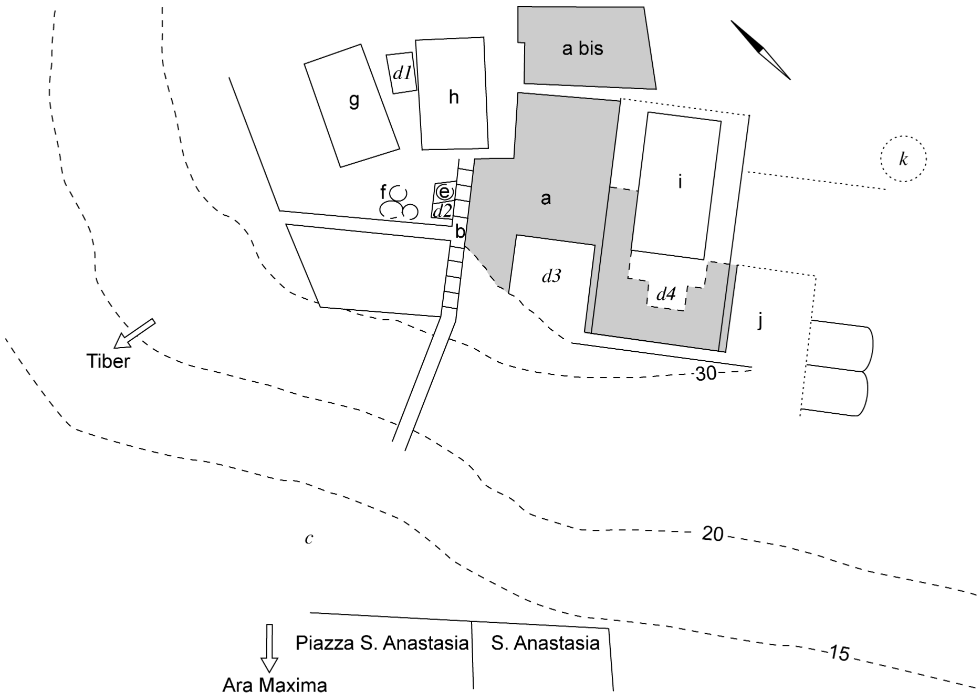

Fig. 1. Schematic plan of the south-western part of the Palatine with the house of Augustus and the surrounding monuments; the location of the monuments indicated by italics is hypothetical (P.G.P. Meyboom, M. Oberendorff).

a.	House of Augustus	f.	Archaic settlement
a.bis.	So-called Casa di Livia	g.	Temple of the Magna Mater
b.	Scalae Caci	h.	Temple of Victoria
c.	Lupercal	i.	Temple of Apollo Palatinus
d.	1-4, Auguratorium and Roma Quadrata	j.	Area Apollinis, with the libraries
e.	The house of Romulus	k.	Temple of Vesta

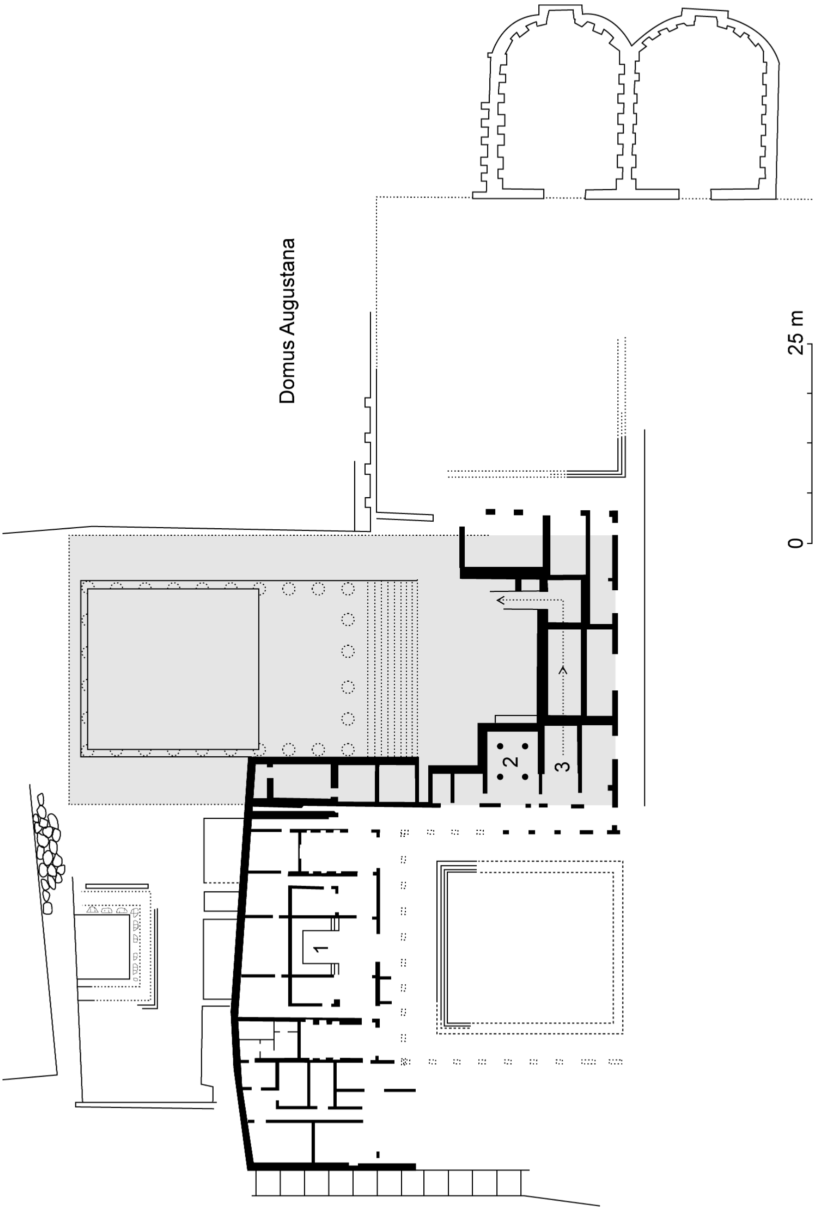

Fig. 2. Plan of the excavated house of Augustus (P.G.P. Meyboom, M. Oberendorff, based on Carettoni 1983b, 8, plan 1; p. 10, plan 2).

1. assembly room
2. (winter) triclinium
3. ascending passage leading to the terrace of the Apollo temple

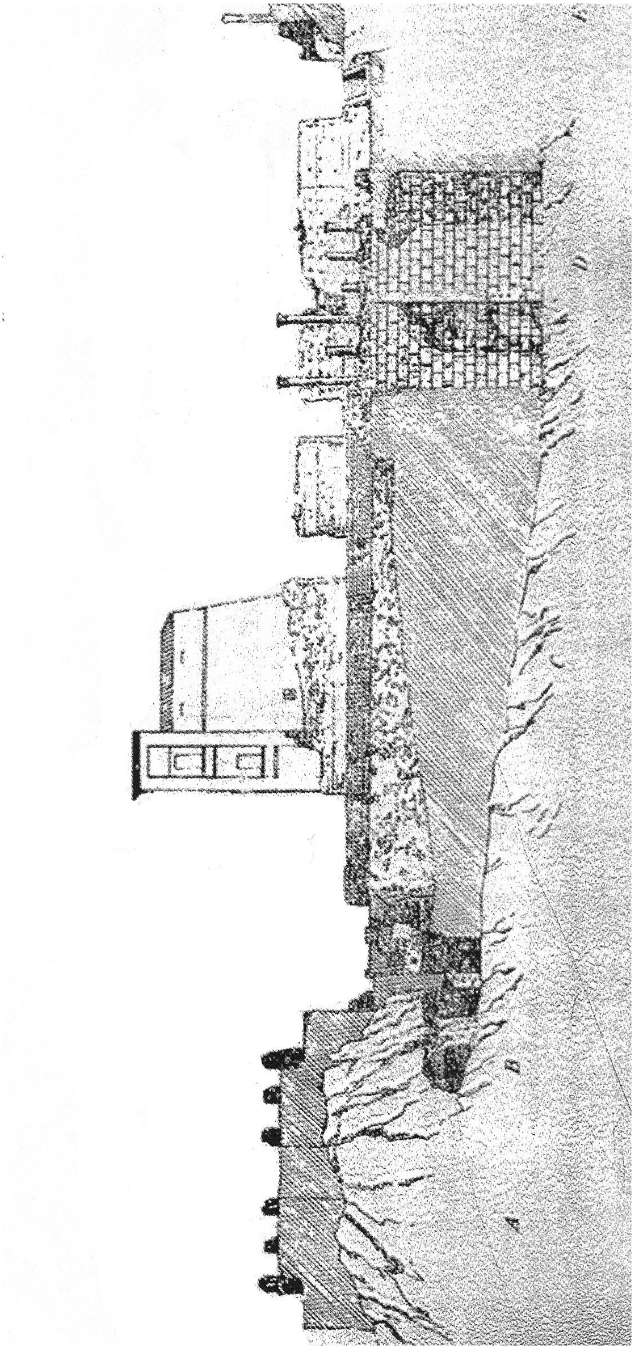

Fig. 3. View of the remains of the Apollo temple (left), the Casino Farnese (centre), and the libraries of Augustus with above these the libraries of Domitian (right) (excav. by P. Rosa, ca. 1870, drawing by J.H. Parker, after Tomei 1999, fig. 87).

Fig. 4. Present view of the south-west side of the Palatine seen across the Circus Maximus; below, the St. Anastasia and the south-entrance to the Villa Farnese; above, the Augustan ruins and the Casino Farnese, the Apollo temple lies beneath the temporary iron roof.

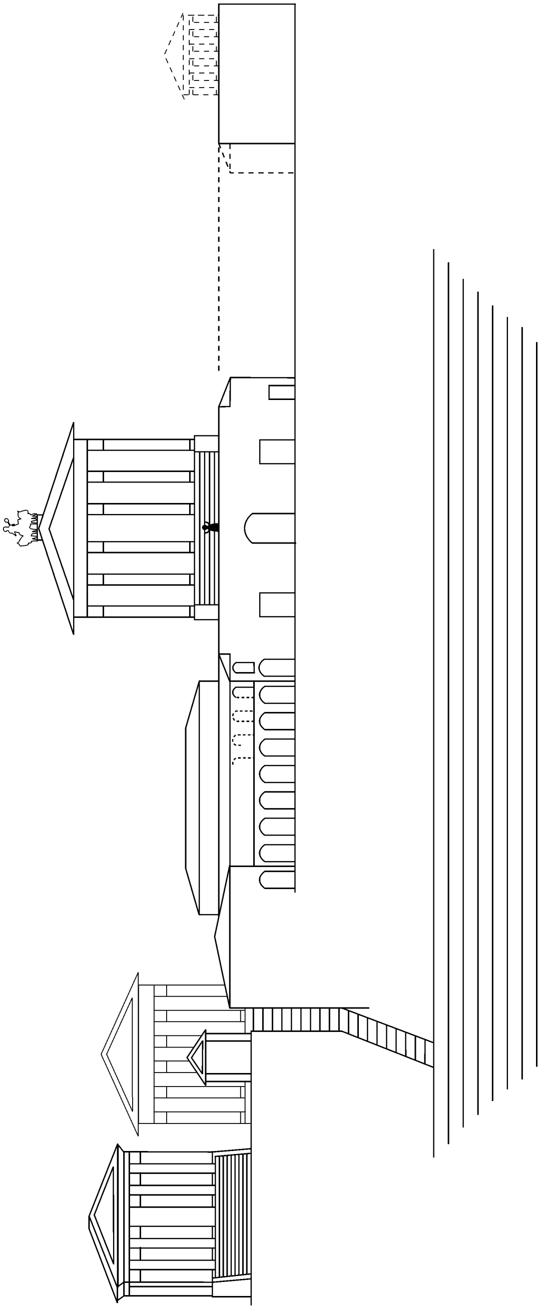

Fig. 5. Impression of the Apollo temple and the surrounding monuments rising above the Circus Maximus (P.G.P. Meyboom, M. Oberendorff).

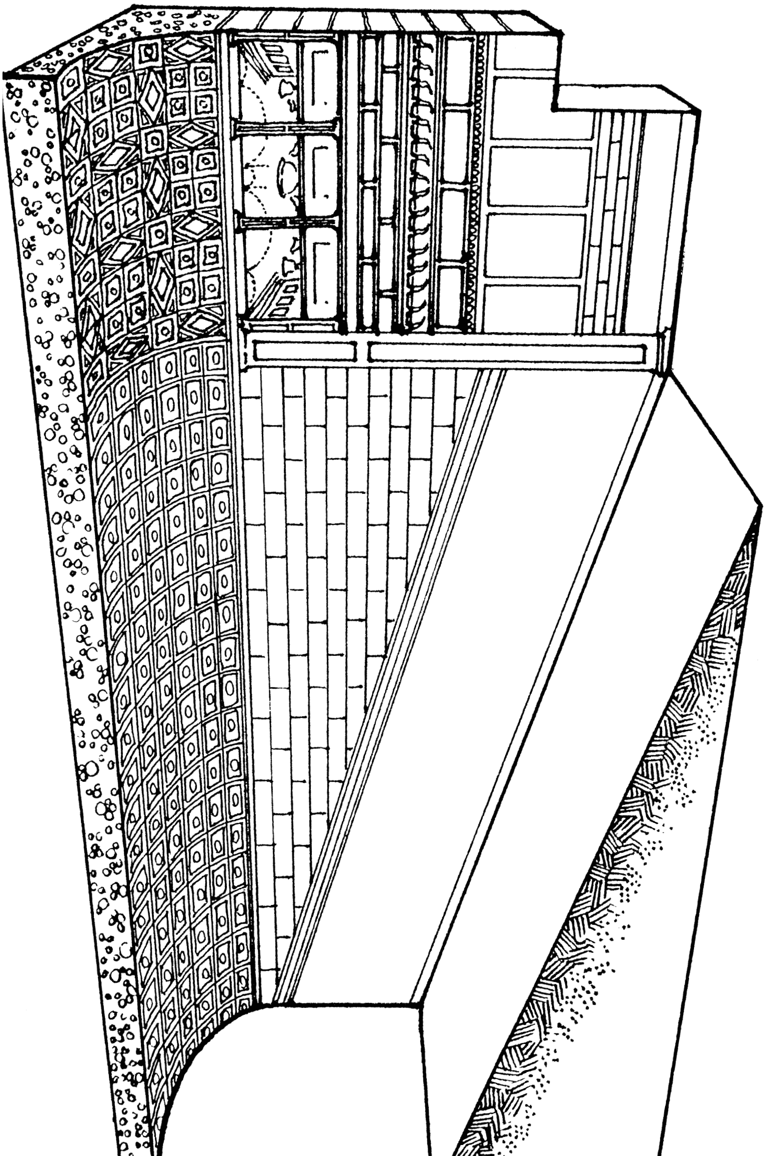

Fig. 6. Ascending passage leading from the peristyle in Augustus' house to the terrace of the Apollo temple (after Carettoni 1983a, 389, fig. 5).

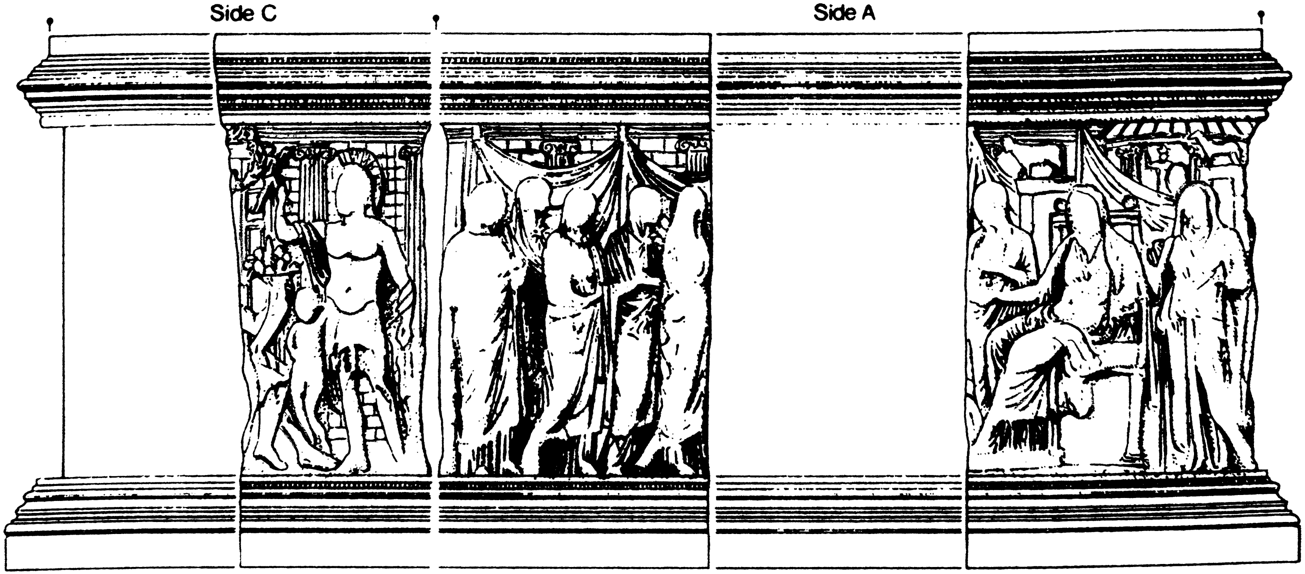

Fig. 7. Reconstruction drawing of the Sorrento base representing the façade of the house of Augustus and the Vesta temple (early 1st cent. AD; after Wiseman 1991, 108, fig. 3, with some retouches).

Fig. 8. Bronze ass portraying Augustus and Numa (23-15 BC, after Galinsky 1996, 35, fig. 18).

Fig. 9. The Livia cameo, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (15-20 AD).

THE PROPAGATION OF *FORTITUDO*

GLADIATORIAL COMBATS FROM CA. 85 BC TO THE TIMES OF TRAJAN AND THEIR REFLECTION IN ROMAN LITERATURE

Karl A.E. Enenkel

Gladiatorial combats have recently received considerable attention in scholarly literature.[1] More particularly, efforts have been made to understand aspects of the games that seem shocking and partly alien to us: violence, cruelty,[2] bloodshed and political suicide,[3] and, on the other hand, aspects that seem especially close to our age: mass entertainment and professional sports. These recent studies have increased our understanding of the gladiatorial combats tremendously. In the present paper I want to discuss an aspect that has not yet received the attention it deserves: gladiatorial combats as a means of the propagation of values. This focus, at first sight, may seem odd

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[1] Groundbreaking general studies are Th. Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, London and New York 1992 (review by D. Shottter, 'Gladiators', *CR* 54, 1994, 127-128); J.-C. Golvin, *L'amphithéatre Romain*, Paris 1988; idem and Landes C., *Amphithéatres et gladiateurs, CNRS* 1990; C.A. Barton, *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans. The Gladiator and the Monster*, Princeton 1993; Nardoni D., *I gladiatori romani*, Rome 1989; G. Ville, *La gladiature en occident des origines à la mort de Domitien,* Rome 1981.

[2] Representative for this focus is K. Hopkins's remark in 'Murderous Games', in: idem, *Death and Renewal*, Cambridge 1983, 1-30, esp. 5: "The welter of blood in gladiatorial and wild-beast shows, the squeals of the victims [...] are completely alien to us and almost unimaginable." The aspect of cruelty and violence receives special attention in Barton, *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans,* passim; R. Auguet, *Cruauté et civilisation: Les jeux romaines,* Paris 1970 (English translation *Cruelty and Civilisation. The Roman Games,* London and New York 1994^2) and M. Wistrand, *Entertainment and Violence in Ancient Rome* (*Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* 56), Goteburg 1992, 15-29.

[3] Cf. P. Plass, *The Game of Death in Ancient Rome. Arena Sports and Political Suicide*, Madison and London 1993.

and inadequate, and, moreover, contradictory to the more spectacular aspects that have been elaborated in recent years. A strange coincidence, however, may give us an indication that the shows deserve consideration in this respect. The two Emperors that undertook the strongest efforts to restore old Roman values, Augustus and Trajan, both were conspicuous promoters of gladiatorial combats. Augustus was the first to turn the incidental gladiatorial combats into regular games, the first to build a stone amphitheatre in Rome,[4] and also the first to put the games under state control.[5] In his *Res gestae*, Augustus presented himself as a fervent supporter of the shows, and was proud of having organized them sixteen times and of having presented no less than ten thousand fighters, a whole army, so to speak.[6] The other restorer of old Roman values, Trajan, has organized the largest and longest gladiatorial games Rome had ever seen. Trajan's propagator, Pliny the Younger, praised the *optimus princeps* as organizer of gladiatorial shows.[7]

In my view, this is no mere coincidence. Both Augustus and Trajan have understood the propagandistic value of the shows. Both did not organize them just to please the people and to gain cheap popularity. I think that they have promoted the shows in the larger framework of their ideological programme: the restoration of values. We shall return to this below.

To what extent were the gladiatorial combats a suitable medium for propagandistic purposes like the transmission of values? Important requirements are, in the first place, that the combats would attract the attention of the intended audience and that they would allow for interaction between the 'senders' of the message and the audience. The gladiatorial shows fulfilled these requirements perfectly. They received great attention and had an enormous impact. Gladiators were admired like modern sport heroes, such as football or soccer

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[4] Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 20.

[5] E. Baltrusch, 'Die Verstaatlichung der Gladiatorenspiele', *Hermes* 16, 1988, 324-337.

[6] *Res gestae* 22-23; Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 11.

[7] Pliny, *Panegyricus* 33,1. See below.

players.[8] The Roman people were mad about the games: they preferred them to scenical and other events.[9] It is important to note that this does not only apply to the lower classes: the senator Seneca tells us in *De brevitate vitae* that the members of his class literally counted the days in expectation of these games.[10] Gladiatorial shows were generally considered as highly important social events: everybody attended, men and women alike, from the lower class to the highest ranks of knights and senators. Moreover, the audience showed an increased social sensibility, as the spectators observed not only the fighters, but also each other, and they interacted intensely. This means that there was a direct line from those in power (the organizers, etc.) to the lower classes, with the possibilities of close interaction and upward movement as well.

The main value transported by the gladiatorial combats, as will be demonstrated, was *fortitudo*. Somewhat surprisingly, not much has been written so far on this crucial and venerable Roman virtue.[11] It is difficult to see exactly what has caused this lack of interest. For the ancient Romans, however, *fortitudo* was one of the most important virtues, a virtue considered indispensable for every Roman, politicians, lawyers, military leaders, soldiers and for ordinary citizens as well. Moreover, *fortitudo* is something that contributed substantially to the cultural identity of the Romans.

For a first understanding of the connection of the gladiatorial combats with *fortitudo*, Cicero provides an illuminating example in his speech *Pro Milone*.[12] Cicero's defence of this leader of the *optimates* is in the first place something like a political pamphlet. It reflects the war-like tensions between the conservative *optimates* and the powerful *populares* who tried

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[8] For gladiators as heroes see Hopkins, 'Murderous Games', 20-27; for gladiators as sportsmen cf. I. Weiler, *Der Sport bei den Völkern der Alten Welt*, Darmstadt 1981, 228 ff.

[9] Cf. Terence, *Hec.* 39-41.

[10] Seneca, *Brev. vit.* 16,3.

[11] In H. Oppermann's (ed.) very useful *Römische Wertbegriffe* (Darmstadt 1974[2]), almost all of the most important values are discussed, but there is not a single article on *fortitudo*.

[12] For *Pro Milone* cf. F.H. Colson's edition with introduction and notes, Bristol 1980.

to seize power, partly by overthrowing the existing political structures of the Roman Republic. Milo had killed one of the most active populist leaders in a street fight, the *tribunus plebis* Publius Clodius Pulcher. In the passionate *peroratio* of his pamphlet (92-105), Cicero discusses the value of *fortitudo* and depicts his client Milo as a remarkable exponent of this virtue: as a *fortissimus vir* (92). In his defence of Milo,[13] Cicero referred to the gladiatorial combats, comparing his client to a gladiator and the judges to the audience of a gladiatorial show.

At the end of a gladiatorial fight, the audience did indeed play the role of judges, deciding about the gladiator' life or death. Cicero's comparison makes clear what the central criterion of this judgement was: *fortitudo.* If the gladiator had fought with bravery (*fortitudo*), the audience would let him live. *Misericordia* is raised by the display of *fortitudo*, not by presenting oneself in a miserable state:

> Etenim si in gladiatoriis pugnis [...] timidos atque supplices et ut vivere liceat obsecrantis etiam odisse solemus, fortis atque animosos et se acriter ipsos morti offerentis servare cupimus, eorumque nos magis miseret, qui nostram misericordiam non requirunt quam qui illam efflagitant, quanto hoc magis in fortissimis civibus facere debemus? (*Pro Milone*, 92).

Contrarily to what a member of modern Western society may expect, showing one's state of misery, one's fear of death, did not arouse the Roman audience's feelings of mercy: it would have been offended by such behaviour and would not have hesitated to turn down a gladiator who showed his human weakness. The audience expected the gladiator's willingness to die, as a sign of utmost bravery. Only when a gladiator fought according to these principles, he had a better chance to survive: if he had won, he would save his life for the time being; if he had been defeated after he had fought bravely and with spirit, without worrying about wounds and the danger of being killed, he had a chance that the audience/organizer would let him live.

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13 *Pro Milone*, 92: *Quid restat nisi ut orem obtesterque vos, iudices, u eam misericordiam tribuatis fortissimo viro, quam ipse non implorat, ego etiam repugnante hoc et implore et exposco?*

This passage proves that the gladiatorial combats were indissolubly connected with *fortitudo*: the combats were regarded as the stage on which *fortitudo* was performed in an extremely pure form. All outward influences that may mix *fortitudo* with other elements were excluded: the gladiator had no privileged social status, no house and family, no wealthy possessions to maintain, and in his 'nakedness' he could only defend his own life, and *fortitudo* was his sole means of doing so.

If one takes the enormous social distance between the senators, the highest class, and gladiators, the lowest class, into account, it may seem surprising that the senator Cicero considered it to be effective to connect the bravery ascribed to gladiators to the *fortitudo* of a member of his class. Cicero's *Pro Milone*, however, is only one of many examples which show that the low status of gladiators was regularly matched by exaltation.[14] Although the gladiatorial combats were regarded as entertainment, they took place in a solemn, ritualised way; the man-to-man fight had a noble and archaic flavour. Notwithstanding his low social status, the gladiator would achieve fame and glory by displaying his *fortitudo*.

Thus, in the political pamphlet of the published *Pro Milone*, the gladiators were used as a means to propagate the *fortitudo* of a *fortissimus* optimate. This had a political impact exceeding the trial under discussion. Milo's courage, Cicero wants to say, should be exemplary to all good senators. This type of courage, of *fortitudo*, is required of all senators, especially because of the dangers the Roman Republic had to face in those days. Thus, in this general sense, the gladiator's virtue should be considered representative for the leading politicians of Rome. Besides, Cicero's propagandistic claim indirectly shows that such behaviour was rather the exception than the norm. Many senators did not display much fighting spirit in order to defend the Republic, but, guided either by financial or other

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[14] For example in the *Tusculanae disputationes* (II, 17,41) Cicero also presents the gladiators as an example for his class. This and other passages will be discussed below. Barton, *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans*, 12ff., in a somewhat enigmatic way, has labeled this exaltation as 'inverse exaltation'.

private interests or by fear, left it as a prey to the 'potentes', like Pompey or Caesar.

Thus, *fortitudo* was discussed in literature exactly when it came under pressure and when certain writers considered it badly lacking. Concerning this aspect, there is an interesting parallel with the general development of the gladiatorial shows. If the most important value transmitted by the gladiatorial combats is *fortitudo*/ courage/ fighting spirit, one may expect that they were of special importance during the period of expansion of the Roman Empire, up to in the times of the conquest of Carthago, Greece and Asia Minor.[15] Although the combats may have affirmed the Roman virtue of *fortitudo* also in this period, it is remarkable that their frequency became much higher and the games became longer and more elaborate *after* the Romans conquered their empire, viz. in the second half of the first century BC. It was in this period that Augustus turned them into regular games.

Augustus took his measures against the background of a change in values of the leading class: in the second half of the first century BC., the values of many members of the leading class had become less military than those of their colleagues in the third and second century BC. In a sense, the leading class had become more 'civilized' and thoroughly familiar with Greek culture. Accordingly, its members, at least partly, lost their interest in fighting spirit, *fortitudo,* and other old Roman virtues. Some members of the elite were now outspokenly disgusted by the bloodshed and the primitive physicality of the gladiatorial fights. For example, Cicero's friend Marcus Marius belonged to this group.[16] He preferred to stay on his country estate when gladiatorial combats took place in Rome, and Cicero himself, in a passage where he introduced the gladiators as a moral example, admitted that part of his contemporaries (by which he probably means the members of his own

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[15] Paul Plass, who looks at the gladiatorial combats from the angle of violence, suspects that the growing violence connected with the expansion of the Roman Empire may have influenced the growing of the shows (*The Game of Death in Ancient Rome,* 30). I do not think this is a plausible explanation. I am afraid that exactly the opposite process took place.

[16] He is characterised by Cicero as *qui gladiatores contempseris* (*Fam.* 7,1,3); Cicero's letter to Marius was written in the middle of September 55 BC.

class) would regard these fights as cruel and inhuman.[17] In Seneca's seventh Letter, written about a century later, similar judgments have been detected.[18] Miriam Griffin, in her influential book on Seneca, has stated that he had in general an "abhorrence of gladiatorial shows", and has interpreted this as a sign of his *humanitas.*[19] Also Rieks and Lipps have emphasized Seneca's *humanitas.*[20] Although the notion of *humanitas* is certainly present in Seneca's works,[21] Griffin's statement that he generally condemned gladiatorial combats is not correct, as will be demonstrated below. Whereas the message of the seventh letter is somewhat different, it is nevertheless likely that

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17 Cicero, *Tusc.* II, 41 *crudele gladiatorum spectaculum et inhumanum non nullis videri solet* [...]. The important point in this remark is not that Cicero wanted to express his own opinion (Wiedemann's use of the passage may be a bit misleading in this respect, cf. Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 38), but to defend his positive example of the gladiators against this existing opinion. As an excellent orator and lawyer, he perfectly understands the art of reading the minds of his audience and of anticipating their objections.

18 For Seneca's 7th Letter cf. below.

19 M.T. Griffin, *Seneca. A Philosopher in Politics*, Oxford 1992 (1976), 178.

20 R. Rieks, *Homo, Humanus, Humanitas. Zur Humanität in der lateinischen Literatur des ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1967, 89-137 (for the concepts of *clementia, misericordia, crudelitas, monstrositas* especially 121-130); P. Lipps, *Humanitas in der frühen Kaiserzeit. Begriff und Vorstellung*, diss. Freiburg/Br. 1967, 17-69.

21 In Seneca's notion of *humanitas* there is without doubt included a certain mildness (cf. Rieks, *Homo, Humanus, Humanitas*, 121ff.; Lipps, *Humanitas in der frühen Kaiserzeit*, 35: "*Humanitas* bedeutet die Fähigkeit, Schmerz zu empfinden, bewegt zu sein vom Tod des Nächsten. Freude am Unglück anderer ist eine unmenschliche Empfindung [...]"). Wistrand, on the other hand, has argued that "to Seneca *misericordia* is a moral defect" (Wistrand, 'Entertainment and Violence in Ancient Rome', 19-20), which, as a general judgement, seems a bit unbalanced. Concerning the gladiatorial shows, however, I think that Wistrand's statement is basically right: "Contrary to what is often claimed, he (Seneca) appreciates gladiatorial shows" (*ibidem*, 20); cf. also idem, 'Violence and Entertainment in Seneca the Younger', *Eranos* 88, 1990, 31-46. On this issue, see below. For the discusson on *humanitas* cf. also F. Beckmann, *Humanitas. Ursprung und Idee*, Münster 1952; K. Büchner, '*Humanum* und *humanitas* in der römischen Welt', *Studium generale* 14, 1961, 636-646; H. Dahlmann, 'Römertum und Humanismus', *Studium generale* 1, 1948, 17-26; H. Haffter, 'Neuere Arbeiten zum Problem der *Humanitas*', *Philologus* 100, 1956, 287-304; F. Klingner, 'Humanität und *humanitas*', in: idem (ed.), *Römische Geisteswelt,* München, 1956^3, 620-662; J. Mayer, *Humanitas bei Cicero,* diss. Freiburg 1951; J. Schneider, *Untersuchungen über das Verhältnis von humanitas zu Recht und Gerechtigkeit bei Cicero,* diss. Freiburg 1964.

opinions like the one held by Marcus Marius were also present in the first century A.D.

During the crisis of the Roman Republic the system of values changed: old values, like the warrior-like *fortitudo*, came under pressure; more civilized values gained ground. Augustus and some men surrounding him, however, did not regard this development as positive, but more as a symptom of moral decay. As a remedy, Augustus tried to underline continuity by reintroducing and affirming old morals. In the last decennia of the first century BC, *the gladiatorial combats were considered to represent the old morals.* Of course, Augustus profited from pleasing the people by organizing these shows, but their impact was not limited to this. In the representations of the new regime he generally leaned on old values. The gladiatorial combats fit very well into this pattern. Augustus was one of those who strove against the fear that, in the course of the civil wars, the Romans would lose (or had already lost) their identity, that their morals would decline and that decadence may ruin them. The gladiatorial shows in the crisis of the republic belonged to the identity-affirming and identity-providing elements of Roman culture. In the shows, the old value of *fortitudo* was transmitted. The spectators learned that it was good to be brave; that it was good to be able to endure pain or worse.

Thus, in a way, the gladiatorial combats functioned as an antidote against an overdose of civilisation, against decadence, against 'civilised' weakness and sensibility for misfortune. This counts for the ordinary Romans as well as for the elite. They should learn to avoid *mollities* and to have an *animus fortis*, as Cicero had said a few decennia before.[22]

Of course, it is difficult to see to what extent Augustus succeeded in his restoration of old values. Concerning the question of *fortitudo*, at least the introduction of gladiatorial shows as regular games turned out to be a big success. After Augustus, the Games remained closely connected to the Emperor, and almost each emperor exerted himself to excel as an orga-

[22] *Tusc.* II,41.

nizer of Games.[23] Most importantly, the propagation of the value of *fortitudo* via gladiatorial combats went on during the first and second century AD.

Pseudo-Quintilian offers us an interesting glimpse of this in *Minor Declamation* 302, which is devoted to a gladiator who was set free on the people's request because he demonstrated a high degree of *fortitudo*.[24] It is interesting that the author of the *declamatio* depicts the people explicitly as judges of a *moral* game. The author underlines this feature by providing additional information that has been announced to the people attending the show. In the case of our gladiator, it was announced before the fight that he has sold himself to the show in order to raise money for his father's funeral.[25] Of course, the case offered by *Minor declamation* 302 is virtual, but this does not count for the general concept of the gladiatorial combats as moral games. The author of the *declamatio* clearly implies that in a gladiatorial show values would be 'performed', approved and confirmed, on the battleground of the arena.

The fact that the combats had a 'clear message' increased, as it seems to me, their educative impact: *fortitudo* was rewarded with life, cowardly behaviour was punished with death. One could simply see the effects of virtue and vice with one's own eyes: the 'good' gladiator stayed alive, the coward was killed and his dead body was dragged out of the arena.

But what kind of *fortitudo* should be transmitted? One may suppose that for a Roman politician and lawyer, *fortitudo* in terms of unbridled fighting-spirit was less useful than a more rational *fortitudo*. I think that from the beginning of the first century BC a development took place that stimulated the leading class to reinterpret the old *fortitudo*: from this time on, one can observe an emphasis on its intellectual, rational and politi-

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[23] Cf. Baltrusch, 'Die Verstaatlichung der Gladiatorenspiele'.

[24] See Winterbottom's introduction to *rudem postulante populo accepit* in: M. Winterbottom M. (ed.), *The Minor Declamations Ascribed to Quintilian*, Berlin and New York 1984. Cf. L. Hakanson, 'Die quintilianischen und pseudoquintilianischen Deklamationen in der neueren Forschung', *ANRW* II,32,4; for the genre see S.F. Bonner, *Roman Declamation in the Late Republic and Early Empire*, Liverpool 1949 (reprint 1969).

[25] See the introduction: *ut patrem sepeliret, auctoravit se.*

cal aspects. *Fortitudo* was especially applied to the ability to take effective political decisions. Cicero, e.g., in his definition of *fortitudo* in *De inventione*, suggests that *fortitudo* is predominantly directed to politics.[26] Characteristically, he regards *magnificentia* as its main element, which is a certain high-minded political thinking and planning. But also the more conservative elements of his definition, like endurance (*patientia*), perseverance (*perseverantia*) and self-confidence (*fidentia*), are described in a way that better suited the needs of a 1st century politician:

> Fortitudo est considerata periculorum susceptio et laborum perpessio. Eius partes magnificentia, fidentia, patientia, perseverantia. Magnificentia est rerum magnarum et excelsarum cum animi ampla quadam et splendida propositione cogitatio atque administratio. Fidentia est per quam magnis et honestis in rebus multum ipse animus in se fiduciae certa cum spe conlocavit. Patientia est honestatis aut utilitatis causa rerum arduarum ac difficilium voluntaria ac diuturna perpessio. Perseverantia est in ratione bene considerata stabilis et perpetua permansio.[27]

The most eye-catching element in Cicero's re-interpretation is probably the fact that every part of this new *fortitudo* is connected with rational thinking; that virtue depends on the ca-

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[26] *De inv.* II,163

[27] *Ibidem.* For Cicero's *De inventione,* cf. M.T. Cicerone, *De inventione*, introd., trad. e note a cura di Maria Greco (*Studi di Filologia e Letteratura* 3), Galatina 1998, 302; for the genre of the 'Lehrbuch', see M. Fuhrmann, *Das systematische Lehrbuch. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften in der Antike*, Göttingen 1960. In the passage, from II,159 on, Cicero gives definitions of the (Roman) virtues; for Cicero's definition of *virtus,* cf. A.-M. Diercxsens, *Virtus Ciceroniana. Recherches sur le sens du concept Virtus dans les oeuvres de Cicéron,* diss. Louvain, 1943/44; B.C. Burke, *Cicero the champion of virtus,* diss. Bryn Mawr 1986; P. Kuklica, 'Ciceros Begriff *virtus* und dessen Interpretationen', in: *Graecolatina et Orientalia* 7-8, 1975-6, 3-23; G. Liebers, *Virtus bei Cicero,* diss. Leipzig 1940, Dresden 1942; H. Steinmeyer, 'Der *virtus*-Begriff bei Cicero und Seneca', *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 17, 1974, 50-59.

pacity to act rationally.[28] This feature is connected with the stoic definition of virtue.[29]

In the light of this definition one wonders if the gladiator could live up to these high standards, and thus, if he could henceforth serve as a moral example for the leading class.

In a work that was composed approximately at the same time as *De inventione*, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, these doubts are expressed. The Auctor ad Herennium did not believe that a gladiator would be able to act rationally:

> Non est ista fortitudo, sed temeritas, propterea quod fortitudo est contemptio laboris et periculi cum ratione utilitatis et compensatione commodorum, temeritas est *cum inconsiderata dolorum perpessione gladiatoria periculorum susceptio.*[30]
>
> That act of yours is not bravery, but recklessness, because to be brave is to disdain toil and peril, for a useful purpose and after weighing the advantages, while to be reckless is to undertake perils *like a gladiator, suffering pain without thought.*

The Auctor ad Herennium refers to values that belong to the *lingua franca* of stoic concepts widely used by Roman writers. A central issue of these concepts is the depreciation of the emotions. For instance, in the stoic discussion of the emotions in the *Tusculanae disputationes*, Cicero presents the gladiator as a negative example. In book four, about anger (*ira*), Cicero argues against the peripatetic thesis that emotions are useful (IV,48).[31] A stoic would rather argue that emotion weakens a

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[28] Cf. H. Frank, *Ratio bei Cicero*, Frankfurt 1992, 347: "Identifikation: *ratio – virtus*".

[29] Cicero himself looked at it in this way, cf. for example *Acad.* 1. 38*: hic* [*Zenon*] *omnis* [sc. *virtutes*] *in ratione ponebat.*

[30] *Rhet. Her.* IV,35 (emphasis added). This depreciation of gladiators is not limited to a single remark. When the Auctor ad Herennium discusses the various means an orator could use to distort the moral qualifications given by an opponent, he says: 'what he (the opponent) has named courage (*fortitudo*), we shall term the reckless temerity of a gladiator' (*eam nos gladiatoriam et inconsideratam appellabimus temeritatem, Rhet. Her.* III,6.).

[31] For the argument of the *Tusculanae disputationes* cf. P. McKendrick, (with the collaboration of Karen Lee Singh), *The Philosophical Books of Cicero*, London 1989, 149-168; for book four especially 156-160. In McKendrick's analysis of the argument, the passage belongs to 'Refutatio II'; see also H. Seng, 'Aufbau und Argumentation in Ciceros Tusculanae disputationes',

fighter, as he will be unable to take rational (which for them means: the only effective and sound) decisions. As Cicero puts it in the *Tusculanae disputationes* (IV,48): *An vero vir fortis, nisi stomachari coepit, non potest fortis esse? Gladiatorium id quidem.*

This prejudice, however, did not prevent the Roman writers from using the gladiators for their propagation of *fortitudo*, even if they were Stoics. Several aspects are important in this respect. First, it is worth noticing that in the Stoic discourse, too, a more rudimentary definition of *fortitudo* persisted, alongside the rational one, in which manliness and courage were emphasized. It is illustrative for this definition of *fortitudo* that Cicero says in the same work (*Tusc.* II,43): *Appellata est enim ex viro virtus; viri autem propria maxime est fortitudo, cuius munera duo sunt maxima: mortis dolorisque contemptio.* For the propagation of this more archaic *fortitudo*, the gladiator served as a beautiful example. In this connection Cicero also tells us (*Tusc.* II,31) what a real man is not supposed to do: to groan, to shriek aloud, to wail, to break down and to be unnerved: *gemere, eiulare, lamentari, frangi, debilitari dolore.* A negative example would be Philoctetes who lamented loudly when he was wounded by the snake: 'Can you possibly regard as a brave man, as a man of high spirit, enduring, dignified, as a man who despised fortune, [...] the Philoctetes of the poem? [...] he was certainly not of a brave character, who lies "in dwelling dank, where from dumb walls re-echo piteous sounds of lamentation, plaints and groans and cries"'.[32]

In this respect, the gladiators could teach the virtue of *fortitudo* even to senators and Stoics. They could show them how to endure pain and even death without fear, and not to groan, shriek and break down. Subsequently, still in the same work, Cicero does not hesitate to present them as a moral example: 'Which gladiator of ordinary merit,' Cicero asks, 'has ever uttered a groan or changed countenance? Who of them has disgraced himself, I will not say, on his feet, but who has dis-

RhM 141, 1998, 329-347 and the annotated edition of the Tusculans by T.W. Dougan and R.M. Henry (Cambridge 1904-1935) *ad loc.*

[32] *Tusc.* II,33.

graced himself in his fall? Who after falling has drawn in his neck when ordered to suffer the fatal stroke?'.[33]

In their own opinion (but also in their audience's view) the gladiators had to keep up a certain status of honesty in which they prided themselves and which they were anxious to defend in combat. Their honorable status implied the avoidance of any weakness. Thus the ability to act without fear and to endure even severe physical pain belonged to their codex. In order to prove their honesty, they were ready to go to the extreme: in the times of Gellius a gladiator in Rome became famous because he used to laugh when he was operated on his wounds.[34] The stoic Seneca, in his *De providentia,* propagates the gladiator as moral example of the highest standard. What would one expect of a true Roman nobleman? That his behavior is determined by love for virtue and glory. For this, the gladiator serves as a perfect example. The gladiator's love of glory was much greater than his fear of death, to such an extent that he considered it shameful to fight against an inferior opponent: *Ignominiam iudicat gladiator cum inferiore componi et scit eum sine gloria vinci qui sine periculo vincitur.*[35] This is one of the numerous instances where Seneca tries to influence the behavior of his Roman readership by the moral example of the gladiator.

But, of course, true virtue requires rational acting. Can this apply to the gladiator? In this respect, Cicero has created an opening in his *Tusculanae disputationes,* when he stated that gladiators '*often fight in a disciplined, calm and civilized way, without any sign of anger*' (emphasis mine): [...] *in iis ipsis (sc. gladiatoribus) videmus saepe constantiam: Conloquuntur, congrediuntur, quaerunt aliquid, postulant.*[36] In this, the Stoic Seneca picked up the ball thrown at him by Cicero's argument in his treatise *De ira,* when putting forward a Stoic *ratiocinatio* against the emotions: '"But against enemies", he [the peri-

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[33] *Tusc.* II,41: *Quis mediocris gladiator ingemuit, quis vultum mutavit umquam? Quis non modo stetit, verum etiam decubuit turpiter? Quis, cum decubuisset, ferrum recipere iussus collum contraxit?*

[34] *Noct. Att.* XII,5,13: [...] *fuisse accepimus* [...] *ferum quendam in ludo Caesaris gladiatorem, qui cum vulnera eius a medicis exsecabantur, ridere solitus fuit.*

[35] *De prov.* 3,4.

[36] *Tusc.* IV,48.

patetic] says, "anger is necessary". Never in a less way. Because exactly then the impulses of the soul should not be abundant, but well tempered and obeying [...] *Also the gladiators are protected by skill* (ars = ratio), *and endangered by ira'* (emphasis mine).[37] As Seneca puts it, the success and failure of gladiators is largely dependent on their rationality. The emotional gladiator has no chance of winning; *he who concentrates on the rational art of fighting will survive.*

This passage shows that scholars, who have ascribed to Seneca a general disgust of gladiatorial combats, cannot be right. On the opposite, I would argue that Seneca has propagated the gladiator as a major example of Stoic philosophy. As a Stoic philosopher, Seneca was very much occupied with death[38] or, more precisely, with controlling the fear for death. One may even state that the main goal of his philosophy was to fight the fear of death and the assaults of fortune. The Stoa prescribed a strong attitude against fortune and death: *fortitudo.* The Stoic Sage is the 'brave' man *par excellence.*

It is an intriguing feature of his pedagogical treatises that Seneca identifies the gladiator with the Stoic sage. In *De constantia* (16,2), for example, Seneca illustrates the attitude of Epicurism and Stoicism towards *iniuria* with two 'very brave' (*fortissimi*) gladiators: 'Do you ask, then, what is the difference between the two? The same difference that distinguishes two gladiators, both very brave, one of whom stops his wound and stands his ground, the other, turning to the shouting crowd, makes a sign that he has no wound, and permits no interference'. The paragon of bravery is of course the stoic philosopher who declares that *iniuria* does not exist at all. Seneca compares him to the gladiator who shows the behaviour best liked by the crowd: denying the wounds and not asking for *misericordia.*

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[37] De ira I,11,1 *'Sed adversus hostes', inquit, 'necessaria est ira'. Nusquam minus: ubi non effusos esse oportet impetus, sed temperatos et oboedientes* [...] *Gladiatores quoque ars tuetur, ira denudat. Deinde quid opus est ira, cum idem proficiat ratio?'* (ed. L.D. Reynolds, Oxford 1977, 49).

[38] A.D. Leeman, 'Das Todeserlebnis im Denken Senecas', *Gymnasium* 78, 1971, 322-333; Fuhrmann, *Seneca,* passim.

Epistula 37 is an especially telling example because Seneca compares here the condition of the *Sapiens* directly to the condition of the gladiator. Its most significant feature, the oath of the gladiators in which they swear that they will not resist being burned, put in chains and killed (*uri, vinciri ferroque necari*), is especially relevant to the philosopher:[39] the gladiator's oath serves as the moral directive for the Stoic *Sapiens*. In order not to lose his tranquillity of mind the Wise Man must accept death in the same way as the gladiator.

Similarly, in *De tranquillitate animi* Seneca says:

> That man will not live well who will not know how to die well. [...] the breath of life must be counted as a cheap matter. As Cicero says, we feel hostility to gladiators if they are eager to save their life no matter how; *if they display contempt for it, we favour them. The same thing, you may know, applies to us* (emphasis mine); for often the cause of death is the fear of dying. Mistress Fortune, who uses us for her sport, says: 'Why should I save you, you base and cowardly creature? You will be hacked and pierced with all the more wounds, because you do not know how to offer your throat. But you, who receive the steel courageously and do not withdraw your neck or put out your hands to stop it, shall both live longer and die more easily.' He who fears death will never do anything worthy of a man who is alive.[40]

This passage reveals an interesting intertextuality. It connects the passage of Cicero's *Pro Milone*, discussed above, with the discourse of stoic philosophy. By doing so, Seneca propagates the gladiator as a protagonist of stoic philosophy.

Seneca's positive evaluation of gladiatorial combats holds true even for the famous seventh Letter, which has often been incorrectly used to prove the opposite. But in fact, Seneca's criticism in *Epistula* 7 can only be understood against the background of a high estimation of gladiators and gladiatorial combats, since it was directed against unskilful and untrained fighting. In this, the crucial question is: what kind of *fortitudo* should be transmitted in the gladiatorial shows?

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[39] *Epistula* 37,1.
[40] *De tran.* 11,4-5.

It is interesting that at a certain point in the second half of the first century AD, unskilful, purely emotional and untrained fighting became fashionable in the performance of gladiatorial combats. These preferences were especially en vogue in the capital. Seneca, with his propagation of the gladiator as a moral example for the rational *Sapiens*, was not happy about this new fashion. With this judgment, Seneca was not the only one. Interestingly enough Quintilian, too, used the gladiator as a transmitter of values. In his case, the gladiator served as an example not of the true philosopher, but of the ideal orator. In his view, the ideal orator will fight rationally, not unskilfully. Quintilian explicitly denies that the unskilful fighter was the more vigorous.[41]

It is not certain, exactly when the interest in unskilful gladiatorial fighting started. But it was certainly the case during the decennia before the date when the *Institutio oratoria* was written, and probably during most of Quintilian's adulthood (from ca. 55 AD onward). Maybe it was there already under the emperor Claudius (41-54 AD), who obviously had a preference for cruel and emotional fighting between untrained opponents. With regard to this he had a special interest in the pause programme at lunchtime, the *spectaculum meridianum* because that was an occasion to present untrained fighters. For instance, if he was not pleased by the work of carpenters or engineers, he would suddenly throw them into the arena and let them fight.[42] Suetonius tells us that once, totally unex-

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[41] *Inst. or.* II,12,2. Chapter II,12 deals with this question (Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, *Ausbildung des Redners*, hrsg. und übers. von H. Rahn, Darmstadt 1988, vol. II, 216-221. In fact Quintilian, as a conservative rhetorician, criticized the new style of rhetoric. This new, 'natural', style became en vogue in the nineties, about the time Quintilian wrote his manual. The *ars* had to be camouflaged by a vigorous and naive, casual and genuine way of speaking. In his *Institutio oratoria* Quintilian polemizised with these new tendency. Cf. F.R. Varwig, *Der rhetorische Naturbegriff bei Quintilian*, Heidelberg 1976, 38 ff. ('Die Abgrenzung der komplementären Begriffe *natura* (*hominis*) – *ars* (*doctrina*) als Grundlage der quintilianischen Bildungstheorie').

[42] Suetonius categorised this behaviour under the lemma *crudelitas* (*Claud.* 34); 34,2: *meridianis adeo delectabatur, ut* [...] *meridie dimisso ad prandium populo persederet praeterque destinatos etiam levi subitaque de causa quosdam committeret, de fabrorum quoque ac ministrorum atque id genus numero, si automatum vel pegma vel quid tale parum cessisset. Induxit unum ex*

pectedly, Claudius presented one of his *nomenclatores* in the arena even without giving the poor man the opportunity to redress. The interest in untrained and unskilful fighting was certainly en vogue when Seneca wrote his *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (62-65 AD). In my view, his criticism of the seventh letter is directed against this new habit: Seneca reproaches the audience for its bad taste, viz. its preference of unskilful slaughtering and badly equipped fighters.[43]

Did the new preference of unskilful fighting diminish the propagandistic function of the gladiatorial shows? I do not think so. The discussion was basically about the best form of the transmitted value. Those who preferred unskilful fighting would argue that it displayed the virtue of bravery in its purest form: a person's character is tested more rigorously in natural, preferably unforeseen situations, and the result of this test would reflect true *fortitudo*.

The final example I shall discuss, Pliny the Younger's *Panegyric*, held in 98 AD, brings us back to a more direct form of political propaganda. In this speech, delivered in front of the Emperor and a big Roman audience, Pliny gave an outline of the new regime as he thought the Emperor wanted to have it. In this speech, Pliny emphasized the educative and moralistic value of the first gladiatorial games organized by the emperor Trajan: they have stimulated, he says, manliness and courage, and 'did not weaken and debilitate the minds of men, but inspired them to sustain wounds and contempt death' (*quod an-*

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nomenclatoribus suis, sic ut erat togatus (for the *Vita Claudii* cf. K. Scherberich, *Untersuchungen zur vita Claudii des Sueton*, diss. Köln 1995; W. Kierdorf, *Sueton: Leben des Claudius und Nero. Textausgabe mit Einleitung, kritischem Apparat und Kommentar*, Paderborn 1992). Suetonius, however, did not have the intention to judge Claudius explicitly; for his reserved biographical method, cf. my 'Biographisches Werten und biographische Ambiguität. Ein Vergleich von Suetons Augustus-Vita und Plinius' Panegyricus', *WS* 116, 2003, 155-171.

[43] *Epistula* 7,3-4: *Nihil habent quo tegantur; ad ictum totis corporibus expositi numquam frustra manum mittunt. Hoc plerique ordinariis paribus et postulaticiis praeferunt. Quidni praeferant? Non galea, non scuto repellitur ferrum. Quo munimenta? Quo artes? Omnia ista mortis morae sunt.*

imos virorum molliret et frangeret, sed quod ad pulchra vulnera contemptumque mortis accenderet).[44]

As with any mirror of princes the interesting thing is not *that* the Emperor is praised, but for what and in which way. In this respect it is worth notocing that Pliny puts forward the show's educative and moralistic character as the most important argument of praise. This does not necessarily reflect Pliny's own personal opinion, but rather Trajan's, who would not have been pleased, if Pliny had ascribed to him attitudes to which he did not subscribe.[45] Therefore, it seems likely that in his first gladiatorial show (discussed by Pliny), Trajan wanted to revitalize old Roman morality, and to activate the old virtue of *fortitudo*. This is part of the extensive political and moralistic programme which Pliny sets out in his speech.

It seems to me that Trajan's political programme of the restoration of values reveals certain anxieties and fears. They become clear in the lines quoted above: Trajan was afraid that the Romans were about to lose their identity, that they had become weak (*mollis*), cowardly (*animus fractus*), undetermined (*animus fluxus*), decadent and unmanly.[46] With his gladiatorial

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[44] *Pan.* 33,1 (Plinius der Jüngere, *Panegyrikus. Lobrede auf den Kaiser Trajan.* Hrsg., übers. und mit Erläuterungen versehen von W. Kühn, Darmstadt 1985, 66-71).

[45] It is remarkable that in this respect Trajan's program did not reflect Pliny's private opinion. Personally, Pliny was not convinced that, in a moral sense, gladiatorial shows were very educative. Rather he was inclined to regard them as relatively stupid entertainment. As an enormously rich man and Maecenas he preferred donating a library and stipends for talented pupils to his native city of Comum. Compared to his donation, he says, gladiatorial combats were useless. Therefore, I cannot agree with Wistrand's use of the passage in the *Panegyricus* who takes it for granted that Pliny expresses here his own opinion, see Wistrand, *Entertainment and Violence in Ancient Rome*, 13: "In fact, he (Pliny) seems to be quite fond of Arena sports; in his eulogy to Trajan he praises the emperor for giving edifying shows [...]" and 15: "As stated in the preceding chapter, Pliny preferred arena sports to other forms of entertainment".

[46] Interesting is Pliny's inference that the quoted negative values (*enerve, animus fluxus, animus fractus*) could be transmitted also by (a certain form of) gladiatorial shows. I think by these he meant shows in which extravagancy, luxury and strange elements played a dominant role. More concretely, I believe that Pliny intended to contrast Trajan's sober show to the lavish ones of Domitian, who introduced, as we know from Suetonius, rare and extravagant elements: fighting by candlelight and fighting of female

shows he tried to influence them and to change their decadent and unmanly state of mind. The Romans should learn *fortitudo*, according to the same old and rudimentary definition as put forward in Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes* (II,41-43): to behave like a 'real man', to endure pain and death. In other words, as a organizer of gladiatorial combats, Trajan propagated an old Roman virtue he considered highly important, *fortitudo*.

gladiators (*Dom.* 4,1: *nam venationes gladiatoresque et noctibus ad lychnuchos,nec virorum modo pugnas, sed et feminarum*).

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THE PANEGYRICAL INVENTIO

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF *PANEGYRICUS LATINUS* V

Susanna de Beer

Introduction

On the 25th of July 311, during the celebration of Constantine's Quinquennalia in Trier, an unknown orator from Autun delivered a panegyric for the Emperor.[1] In this he thanked Constantine, on behalf of the inhabitants of his city, for having aided them by granting tax reduction and remission of five years arrears. Because of his detailed description of Autun's surroundings and the references to the tax system, which are rare in antiquity, this speech received quite a lot of attention by historians.[2] This implies they regarded the information given

[1] Panegyricus Latinus V, see C.E.V. Nixon and B.S. Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors. The Panegyrici Latini.* Berkeley 1994. Their counting differs from the Budé series, edited by Galletier, in which Panegyric V is VIII and Panegyric VI is VII. The reason for this is that Galletier orders them chronologically, whereas they came down to us in the opposite order. For a discussion on the occasion of the speech, see C.E.V. Nixon, 'The Occasion and Date of Panegyric VIII (V) and the Celebration of Constantine's Quinquennalia.' *Antichton* 14, 1980, 157-169.

[2] The most important literature that refers to or deals with this aspect of Panegyric V is A. Déléage, *La capitation du Bas-Empire*, Mâcon 1945; A.H.M. Jones, 'Census Records of the later Roman Empire', *JRS* 43, 1953, 50-78 (was also published as chapter 10 in: A.H.M. Jones, *The Roman Economy*, Oxford 1974, 228-256); A.H.M. Jones, 'Capitatio and Jugatio', *JRS* 47, 1957, 88-94; J. Faure, 'Notes sur le Panégyrique VIII', *Byzantium* 31, 1961, 1-41; J. Faure, 'Étude de la capitation de Dioclétien d'après le Panégyrique V (VIII)', *Varia: Etudes de droit Romain* 1961; A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602*, Oxford 1964; W. Goffart, *Caput and Colonate. Towards a history of late Roman taxation* (*Phoenix supplement* 12), Toronto 1974; R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge 1982.

in the panegyric as historical facts, which is currently under discussion. In his analysis of Panegyricus Latinus VI, which was delivered a year earlier by probably the same panegyrist, Enenkel convincingly demonstrates this panegyric cannot be considered an assignment of the imperial court, nor can it be put on par with the official propaganda.[3] This leads to the conclusion that the panegyrist could more freely employ the historical facts for his purpose than until now was believed. His freedom of speech was only limited by the borders of the Emperor's wishes, which are more ample in case of a specific celebration-context than in case of the official, wide ranging propaganda. Therefore it is questionable if the panegyric can sensibly be used as historical source.

In this paper I will give an analysis of Panegyricus Latinus V (from now on P.L. V), focussing on the panegyrical *inventio* (i.e. where the panegyrist finds his arguments and to what purpose he uses them). In connection with this the reliability of the historical facts presented in the panegyric will also be discussed. In the analysis the comparison with Panegyricus Latinus VI (P.L. VI) will play an important part, because of the apparent similarities between both speeches (orator from the same city,[4] same emperor), but all the more because of the differences that will, as I will clarify in the following, substantially determine the interpretation.

In P.L. VI the panegyrist tries to give a flattering overview of Constantine's reign of the last five years. To achieve this, he incorporates some politically quite hazardous elements in his speech. As legitimization of Constantine's power, he emphasizes his descent from and the transfer of power by his father Constantius.[5] In a dynasty this descent would indeed have meant a legitimization, in a tetrarchy however, this is quite the opposite.

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[3] K.A.E. Enenkel, 'Panegyrische Geschichtsmythologisierung und Propaganda. Zur Interpretation des Panegyricus Latinus VI', *Hermes* 128, 2000, 91-126.

[4] For the question of authorship, see further in this paper.

[5] P.L. VI 7-8. This transfer has taken place on 25 July 306, see Nixon, 'Occasion and Date', 160.

In former days Constantine had also used August Maximian as legitimization of his reign by marrying his daughter Fausta.[6] However after Maximian's attempt to take power in 308[7] and his immediate death, this link could no longer be used.[8] As new ancestor Claudius II Gothicus was unearthed, with whom the association was used for the first time in this panegyric, most likely as a kind of try-out.[9] In official propaganda however this association does not appear until a few years later.[10] The identification of Constantine with Apollo and Sol Invictus also occurs in this panegyric for the first time.[11] In earlier times Constantine, like Maximian, was linked to Hercules, but after

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[6] By means of this marriage with Maximian's daughter, that was celebrated on 31 March 307, Constantine was promoted from Caesar to August. This title, however, was not officially acknowledged. In 308, during the conference at Carnuntum Diocletian, the designer of the tetrarchical system, set things right. He made Constantine Caesar in the Western Empire, under August Licinius. It was not until 311, when Galerius died, that Constantine received the title of August. For a discussion on these dates see Nixon, 'Occasion and Date.'

[7] P.L. VI, 15.

[8] Although the panegyrist of P.L. VI relates about the attempt to takeover and the death of Maximian, he doesn't mention his name anywhere in the speech, as if after his death a *damnatio memoriae* was brought upon him. Officially this didn't happen until the end of 311, according to T.D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, Cambridge (MA) 1982, 34-35. Because of the total absence of any reference to Maximian in P.L. V it seems likely the *damnatio memoriae* was proclaimed at least before July 311. Apparently in August 310 this was already in the air and the panegyrist wants to be on the sure side by not mentioning his name.

[9] See Enenkel, 'Geschichtsmythologisierung und Propaganda', 103: "Ich glaube, daß sich der Unterschied zwischen Propaganda und Panegyrik in diesem Fall am ehesten wie folgt erklären läßt: Wir befinden uns in der Vor- und Anfangsphase eines historischen Mythos, im Stadium des vorsichtigen Ausprobierens. Konstantin und sein Hof suchten nach dem Wegfallen Maximians neue dynastische Legitimierungsmöglichkeiten. So kam man auf den Gedanken, es mit Claudius Gothicus zu versuchen".

[10] The official propaganda for Claudius II Gothicus as Constantine's forefather appears only in 317-318. On coins of Constantine we find 'DIVO CLAUDIO OPT[IMO] IMP; RIC, 7.180, 252, 310, 429, 502. See also P. Damerau, *Kaiser Claudius II Goticus*. Leipzig 1934, 84: "Nach alledem läbt sich die Echtheit der claudisch-constantinische Genealogie nicht halten; [...] Wäre Constantinus tatsächlich mit Claudius verwandt gewesen, so hätte diese Verwandschaft nicht so lange (bis zum Jahre 310!) im Dunkeln bleiben können".

[11] P.L. VI 8, 4, P.L. VI 12,1 and P.L. VI 21, 4. See also Nixon and Rodgers, *In Praise*, for notes on the text.

Maximian's 'palace revolt' had taken place a new god had to be found.

The occasion on which P.L. VI originally was to be held was the celebration of Constantine's Quinquennalia (at the beginning of the 5th year) on 25 July 310. The panegyrist's intention to give an overview of Constantine's five-year reign is comprehensible in this respect. However, the orator was summoned to deliver his speech on another occasion, namely the birthday of the city of Trier, a few weeks later. The reason for this change of plans is not apparent, but it has been argued by Enenkel that the boldness of his themes might have led the officials to postpone the delivery of the speech.[12] On the Quinquennalia, undoubtedly many important officials and imperial representatives would have been present. It seems likely that Constantine found it too hazardous to have a speech that emphasized the dynastic aspects of his power, held in their presence. The birthday of Trier however was an occasion of much less political importance. It offered the orator the opportunity to freely praise the emperor and try out some new ideologies, without anyone feeling offended.

The Latin Panegyric V was delivered during the celebration of the end of Constantine's Quinquennalia, on 25 July 311.[13] This was not as politically important an occasion as the beginning of the fifth year, the 'normal' Quinquennalia, but still a large number of people from outside would have attended the ceremony.[14] Therefore the orator had to bear in mind the interests of distinct groups within the audience, notably the emperor, the representatives of the other emperors (Caesar and Augusts), and his own citizens from Autun, which he represented on this occasion. Whereas in P.L. VI Constantine received praise in general terms, in P.L. V the panegyrist's intention was a specific one, namely to thank the emperor for the aid he gave them and which he announced on his visit to Autun.[15] Consequently the panegyrist did not have to deal with

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[12] See Enenkel, 'Geschichtsmythologisierung und Propaganda', 97.

[13] See Nixon, 'Occasion and Date', 157.

[14] For a description of the bystanders see P.L. V 2,1.

[15] Officially Panegyric V is a *gratiarum actio* instead of a *panegyricus*, see B.S. Rodgers, 'The Metamorphosis of Constantine', *CQ* 39, 1989, 233-246, esp.

the problematical legitimization of Constantine's power this time, but he had to find the most flattering way to present the facts concerned with the assistance the emperor rendered them.

A Speech of Thanks

In contrast with his 'normal' tasks as a private teacher of rhetoric, the orator of P.L.V now represents a whole city in a public speech of thanks.[16] He planned to do this earlier, at the time when Constantine himself, on his visit to Autun, announced his benefactions. Yet the orator found that the number of bystanders would be less than the emperor is worthy of[17] and besides, the emperor was in a hurry. Therefore he has chosen to deliver his speech now in Trier, for an audience that consists of the emperor, his friends, all of the imperial court and people from many cities, officials or suppliants (P.L. V 2,1).

Constantine has made Autun resemble this splendid city of Trier (*cuius eam similem facere coepisti*), or at least he started this. He was asked to do so by the orator of Latin Panegyric VI, which was delivered a year earlier.[18] According to the panegyrist, the emperor will readily acknowledge the things he is going to relate. Moreover, the rest of the audience will not even believe his story, if the emperor does not acknowledge it (P.L. V 2,1-2). In this he directly addresses Constantine with *te agnoscente*. At first sight this only means the emperor's benefactions are 'too good to be true'. In addition it underlines the

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239: "The gratiarum actio addressed to Constantine removes itself by its topic from the presentation of familiar themes. [...] There are number of elements missing, the absence of which cannot be attributed to preference any more than to the demand of the genre and theme. Constantine has no antecedent section, although there is one for the city, as in a *laus urbis*".

[16] P.L. V 1,2: *non privati studii litterarum sed publicae gratulationis orator.*

[17] P.L. V 1,5: *adsistentium paucitatem minus quam te dignum esset.*

[18] P.L. VI 22,4: *Cuius civitatis antiqua nobilitas* [...] *opem tuae maiestatis expectat, ut illic quoque loca publica et templa pulcherrima tua liberalitate reparentur, sicut hic video hanc fortunatissimam civitatem, cuius natalis dies tua pietate celebratur* (*sc.* Trier).

importance of the emperor's presence. As Constantine is familiar with the facts, the panegyrist cannot freely say anything he wants. He has to account for the emperor's presence in two respects: 1. He has to present the facts in a flattering way. 2. He cannot relate facts that will discredit the emperor. Apart from these restrictions the panegyrist is free to strain the facts to his purpose, as long as the emperor acknowledges them.[19] Although this speech cannot be equated with the official propaganda, among other things because it was not commissioned by the Emperor but by the city of Autun, this does not necessarily mean that the panegyric is not 'propagandical' by nature, or that the panegyrist does not incorporate elements of the official propaganda into his speech. As I stated earlier, the panegyrist has to find the most flattering way to present the facts concerned with Constantine's assistance. In doing this, he also has to keep in mind the interests of his fellow citizens. Whenever these interests are alike, the panegyrist can quite easily combine his flattering comments about the Emperor with his own views. However, when these interests are conflicting, he will have to show more inventiveness in making the presentation acceptable for both parties.

The imperial virtues

One way to flatter the Emperor is to ascribe him as many imperial virtues[20] as possible, and this is clearly what the panegyrist does. The first two imperial virtues that are attributed to Constantine are *Iustitia* and *Clementia*.[21] The panegyrist refers

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[19] See for the requirements of the panegyrist Rodgers, 'Metamorphosis of Constantine', 234: "The numerous rules of panegyric change with the times, but two invariable precepts are that one must not lie in public about matters of fact and that one may employ any interpretation of policy and person which will not displease the ruler".

[20] See M.P. Charlesworth, *The virtues of a Roman Emperor*. London 1918; see also A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Emperor and his Virtues', *Historia* 30, 1981, 289-323, esp. 317: "Imperial virtues are virtues providing a charismatic justification of the emperor's power, representing him as in possession of qualities regarded by his subjects as a necessary qualification of his position".

[21] Seneca, *Clementia* 2,3,1: *Clementia est temperantia anima in potestate ulciscendi vel lenitas superioris adversus inferiorem in constituendis poenis.* The well-

to them in explaining what he wants to achieve in his speech, that is, he must demonstrate that Constantine's benefactions are not due to fortuitous felicity (*fortuita felicitas*), but to just clemency (*iusta clementia*) (P.L. V 2,2).

By granting Autun this many benefactions, the emperor obviously discriminates against other cities. Only by stressing that Autun received them *justly*, does the panegyrist avoid other cities becoming jealous and Constantine's decision being regarded as arbitrary. In this the panegyrist is aware of the presence of both the emperor and the representatives of other cities. Moreover, the city of Autun might make a better impression delivering a speech of thanks for benefactions they justly received than for being lucky.

Yet the combination of these two imperial virtues in the expression *iusta clementia* is unusual, for it seems to contain a contradiction. Clemency is a kind of mildness and is a virtue that befits an absolute ruler. Although in principle it does not involve categories like just or unjust, it is argued to be usually employed in unjust cases. In this it has nothing to do with, or is even contrary to the virtue of justice. Nevertheless the panegyrist puts them together, for he needs them both in his argumentation. Of course he cannot deny the Aedui their deserved and just benefactions, but he also needs to stress Constantine's generosity; he was not obliged to grant them and therefore it is an expression of his clemency.

Two other imperial virtues Constantine is credited with are *bonitas* (goodness) and *sapientia* (wisdom). Not only is the emperor good because of his good deeds, he is also wise for he supported the ones who really deserved it (*bene meritis*), and really needed it because they were heavily weakened (*graviter adfectis*). The panegyrist will illustrate both characterizations of the Aedui (the people of Autun), partly in praise of Autun, but above all as proof of Constantine's *providentia*,[22] another typically imperial virtue. Literally meaning 'to foresee', in case of an emperor it combines foreseeing what is going to

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known *clementia caesaris* regards the absolution Julius Caesar granted to his public enemies.

[22] See Charlesworth, *Virtues*, 15ff and idem, 'Providentia and Aeternitas', *Harvard Theological Review* 29, 1936, 107-132.

happen and taking care of his subjects (providence). Apart from the four Augustan virtues *virtus, clementia, iustitia* and *pietas,* which follows later on, *providentia* is the one that offers the subjects the most sense of security.

Shared Interests: tightening the ties of friendship

In showing the Aedui are *bene meriti* the panegyrist finds his audience at the same side, for establishing the ties of friendship between Constantine and Autun proves favourable for both parties. So why do the Aedui deserve the Emperor's assistance (more than others)? First of all because they were the first Gauls to be called 'brothers of the Roman people' (*fratres populi Romani*), while other Gallic clans were often in state of war with the Romans.[23] In the second place they were the first to ask Constantine's forefather Claudius Gothicus (*divum parentem tuum*) for assistance in recovering Autun. Finally they recently received benefactions of Constantine's father and predecessor, Constantius Chlorus.

Here we see three proofs of the good relationship between the Gauls and the Romans, as well as three examples of how history can be strained to a rhetorical purpose. Indeed they were once called the brothers of the Roman people, but at many other moments in history their mutual relationship was not quite this cordial, as witnesses Caesar.[24] Indeed they asked assistance from Claudius Gothicus, but in the end he did not render any. They received some benefactions of Constantius, but all the same they were denied many. Evidently the panegyrist had better not mention those reverse sides, undoubtedly with approval of the emperor.

After mentioning some occasions on which the Aedui assisted the Romans the panegyrist states that the phrase *fratres populi Romani* is an expression of a common love (*communitas amoris*) and an equal dignity (*dignitatis aequalitas*) (P.L. V 3,1). Herewith the orator underlines the mutuality

[23] See Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 1,33,2 and Nixon and Rodgers,*In Praise,* 267 n. 10, for more references on this subject.

[24] See for instance Caesar, *De bello gallico* 7,37ff; in 52 B.C. the Aedui assisted Vercingetorix in his revolt against the Romans.

and equality of the presumed relationship. Evidently he does not want it to seem like a relationship between a ruler and his suppliant. As demonstrated earlier, they deserved the assistance not for being pitiful, but for having proved their worth for the Romans in the past; they voluntarily handed parts of Gallia over to them. Naming this implies that at least the elite of Autun must have been pro-Roman; otherwise such a characterization of his fellow-countrymen (which he describes as *barbari*) probably would not have been tolerated.[25]

The panegyrist now returns to the assistance the Aedui once urged from Claudius Gothicus. For seven months they were locked up and for seven months they waited for him, but all in vain.[26] As a result a famine struck them, they had to capitulate, were beaten by rebels and saw their town ruined. Is Claudius Gothicus to be reproached for this negligence? Not in the least, for if Fortuna had wanted it[27] and Claudius (ironically addressed as *restitutor orbis*[28]) would have had the ability to act otherwise, this would not have happened. Obviously the panegyrist cannot incriminate Claudius, who since P.L. VI is acknowledged as the forefather of Constantine and therefore can only be praised. The complication with the passage concerned is the absence of praise. Claudius Gothicus did not do anything, certainly nothing praiseworthy. The question is thus why the panegyrist inserts this story all the same?

[25] See B.H. Warmington, 'Aspects of Constantinian Propaganda in the Panegyrici Latini', *TAPhA* 104, 1974, 371-384, esp. 373: "The naïve Gallic or rather Gallo-Roman patriotism of the panegyrists is one of their best know features".

[26] This occupation of Autun took place in 269 B.C., right before the death of Claudius Gothicus. The occupying force consisted of rebelling Gauls, probably under the leadership of the Gallic usurper Victorinus. See Damerau, *Kaiser Claudius II Goticus*; Legentilhomme, 'Le désastre d'Autun en 269', *Revue des Études Anciennes* 45, 1943, 233-240; I. König, *Die Gallischen Usurpatoren von Postumus bis Tetricus*, Munich 1981; Nixon and Rodgers, *In Praise* 70 n. 21.

[27] Cf. P.L. VI 14,3. Here the seizing of power by Maximian is regarded as Fortuna's action (scelera mortalium actus Fortunae esse), also to exonerate him.

[28] A common form of address in times when there's much to restore. Claudius is thus addressed on coins, RIC 5.1.227 no. 189; cf. P.L. V 1,1, where Constantine is addressed as *restitutor*.

As mentioned in the introduction Constantine's descent of Claudius Gothicus was launched in P.L. VI. Among other things because of Autun's bad experiences with this emperor, Enenkel assumed it was not the panegyrist himself, but people from the imperial court that made up this genealogy. In some way or another he learned of this (it was not part of the official propaganda) and decided to use it, possibly as a try-out.[29] Realizing the importance of a new legitimization of Constantine's power, and in view of the fairly safe occasion of Trier's birthday, he fully emphasizes this point.

A year later the descent of Claudius Gothicus was not included among the official propaganda yet, but apparently it still plays a certain role. At least the orator expected to render Constantine a service by mentioning it again. Due to the different occasion and aim of this speech, as I pointed out earlier, and the negative connotations Autun experiences with Claudius Gothicus, the genealogy receives far less attention than in P.L. VI. Just mentioning it (regardless of the way how) seems to be enough to establish the necessary relationship between Claudius with both Constantine and Autun. After this debacle for Autun, Constantius Chlorus started the restoration. Again, nothing is said here about promises he didn't keep. Apparently in this case too the legitimization of Constantine's power by means of his descent of Constantius is important enough to mention. In any case it demonstrates that the panegyrist was well informed about the (future) official propaganda, and incorporates elements into the speech to his own purpose, that is, to establish a firm relationship between the Emperor and his hometown Autun.

Conflicting Interests: who is to blame?

In proving that besides *bene meriti* the Aedui were also *graviter adfecti*, however, the panegyrist comes across a clash

[29] Cf. n. 9. See also C.E.V. Nixon, 'Constantius Oriens Imperator, Propaganda and Panegyric', *Historia* 42, 1993, 229-246, esp. 230: "I certainly do not wish to deny that on occasion the latter (the panegyrist) might seek and be given advice or instructions from officials at court as to what might or should be said".

of interests. Who can he possibly blame for the misery of Autun? Clearly he cannot blame the Emperor, although he is responsible for the harsh taxation that demoralizes them, nor his fellow citizens.

The panegyrist will have to demonstrate these miseries, keeping an eye on his own sorrow and the sensitivity of the emperor. Fully emphasizing the horrible details does not suit the *decorum* of such a speech of thanks. Moreover, though demonstrating their dreadful condition might make the expression of thanks stronger, it makes the people of Autun seem weaker.

The misery of the Aedui originates not mainly from the ruined walls, but from the bitterness (*acerbitas*) of the new taxation. To avoid the suspicion that this implies an accusation of the emperor, the panegyrist adds they did not have the right (*iuste*) to complain, because they truly possess the registered lands and are part of the standard Gallic census (P.L. V 5,5). No just complaints mean no guilty emperor. All the more they thank him for his clemency — this links clemency applied to an 'unjust' case — to have granted them those remedies spontaneously (*sponte*), so that it seems (*videamur*) they justly (*iuste*) received, what they couldn't have asked for rightly (*iure*) (P.L. V 5,6).

As we know the emperor was urged for these remedies in P.L. VI, a year earlier. Why then does it still say *sponte*? This safeguards the Aedui from the burden of begging (*molestiam petendi*), which would destroy the equality they are so eager for (P.L. V 9,2). Moreover it stresses the emperor's *bonitas*, to immediately come to aid, without waiting for their humble prayers. Clearly this modelling of the facts is favourable for both parties, and therefore admitted.

Also striking is the word *videamur*. It *seems* they received the benefactions justly. This wording implies it was not justly in truth. Clearly that is not what the panegyrist wants to argue; what he does is desperately trying not to incriminate the emperor. The same notion is in the contradictory use of *iuste* and *iure*. The emperor's deeds can be called 'just' (*iuste*) as an expression of the virtue 'justice', but they are not 'right' (*iure*) in the strict sense. For according to the official law the Aedui

have no right to complain: the taxes have been imposed on them as on every other community.

But why is the emperor's deed yet an expression of justice, why is the new census for the Aedui particularly harsh? Although they do have the number of people and the amount of land they are assessed for, they have to contend with the inactivity of people (*hominum segnitia*) and the unreliability of the farmland (*terrae perfidia*) (P.L. V 6,1). At this point the panegyrist has cleared the emperor from all blame, but seems to lay the fault at his fellow-countrymen. Consequently they have to be excused. Why are the farmers inactive? Because of the poor state of the land they hardly receive any income and are not motivated as a result. Besides, due to the increasing taxes they have not got enough money to invest in the improvement of the farming land and where therefore caught in a downward spiral. At least they cannot be blamed for this situation.

Constantine's Adventus *and the announcement of the benefactions*

After having related on the poor state of the land, the panegyrist describes the moment of Constantine's arrival in Autun, for which the Aedui are extremely grateful (P.L. V 7,6).[30] It seemed as if the town gate embraced him! A great number of people had assembled to meet the emperor and to wish him a long life (not a mere formula, they really meant it).[31] The entire town was decorated with *signa* of guilds, statues of gods and sounds of music. To keep the bystanders from thinking that Autun was not as poor as he argued, the

[30] For the ceremony of *adventus* see MacCormack, 'Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity. The Ceremony of ADVENTUS', *Historia* 21, 1972, 721-752, esp. 721: "The cerenomy of Adventus had to accommodate conflicting aims. On the one hand the rulers had to ssee to it that they were honoured, and thereby gained prestige, if a monarchial government was to work properly. Also the subjects of their own accord wished to honour their ruler, thereby in some sense enhancing their own dignity and existence".

[31] Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15, 868-870, where he wishes August a long life. According to Rodgers, 'Metamorphosis of Constantine', 240, the panegyrist also wants to make a comparion with the absolute ruler August in calling him 'master of all cities, all nations' in P.L. V 14, 5, thereby deliberately ignoring the other emperors.

panegyrist immediately adds that in spite of all the adornments the Emperor had definitely noticed the poverty.

When in Autun, Constantine thus spontaneously announced his benefactions. Tears of pity even rolled down his cheek, an expression of his *pietas*.[32] The panegyrist extends it even further: had the emperor only made a promise for help, it would have been enough! But his divine spirit — leader of the entire world — immediately brought solutions. In the advisor's opinion this was tactically not smart, for you can better let people wait and desire (just like in nature a child is to be waited for nine months!). Constantine however is not aware of these 'tricks', and in this he has proved superior to the elements by which we live and breathe. He becomes increasingly divine.[33]

He instantly established the number (*capita*?) that he would reduce the taxes with, asked the height of the debts and remitted them at once. The panegyrist discusses both measures separately, starting with the tax reduction. Constantine lowered the tax with 7,000 *capita*, amply a fifth of the total taxation. By means of this reduction the Emperor has given strength to 25,000, has given assistance, has given salvation. I will discuss the tax system and the historical significance of these tax measures in a following part, now I want to focus on *dedisti*. By repeating this verb, the panegyrist gives the impression that something substantial was given to the Aedui, whereas in reality nothing was given, only burdens were relieved.

He continues by saying that the Aedui now gave four times as much to Constantine, an amount that would not have been possible in the past. In those days they did not even pay what could be paid because of their despair. How divine is the assistance they now receive! Just like in case of the amputation of a diseased body, the Aedui rise up after being relieved of their

[32] Constantine benefits by being called *pius*, for as he didn't legitimately came into power he's more likely to be regarded *impius*, a characterization that befits a tyrant, an usurper. See also Th. Grünewald, *Constantius Maximus Augustus. Herrschaftspropaganda in der zeitgenössischen Überlieferung*. Stuttgart 1990, 19.

[33] For the divinity of emperors see B.S. Rodgers, 'Divine Insinuation in the Panegyrici Latini', *Historia* 35, 1986, 69-104, esp. 70: "He (sc. the emperor) might be either a god, the agent of a divine spirit, or god's personally chosen heir. [...] The panegyrists most often resort to the first two ideas [...]".

former burden. It is worth noticing the panegyrist uses the present tense here (P.L. V 11,5: *consurgimus*), whereas the tax reduction has not come into effect yet as he speaks.

The one who thinks the lowering of 7,000 *capita* is all there was to the tax relief, does not value Constantine's generosity at its true worth. His gift also comprehends everything he raised up. Although the former load is still to be carried, it seems lighter with the end in sight. Family life is flourishing; people dare to count their relatives again, because more people help fulfil the obligations of the few (P.L. V 12,4: *plures adiuvant obsequia paucorum*). Future is secured by the tax reduction, the past is freed from misery because of the remittance of debts, merely the present, this one year (P.L. V 12,6: *unus hic annus*), is tough. The present however is short compared with future and past, and is enclosed by two periods of generosity.

Subsequently the panegyrist dwells on the remittance of debts, which cover five years, that is to say a lustrum (P.L. V 13). This lustrum nicely corresponds with Constantine's period of reign, another aspect the emperor and the Aedui have in common (besides the 'friendship' the panegyrist claims in the preceding). Not surprisingly thus the Aedui celebrate the end of the Quinquennalia, instead of the 'normal' celebration at the beginning.[34] To reinforce his argument the panegyrist makes a comparison with the lustrum in the Roman republic, which was celebrated if the censor had done a good job and the last five years had accordingly been successful. Unfortunately Autun's last five years had not in the least been successful, which ruins the comparison, but — as the panegyrist puts it — by remittance of the taxes they seem to have been successful all the same. It is evidently all about appearances!

Finally in an emotional peroration the panegyrist repeats Constantine's great merits for Autun. Although he did not truly give anything, this situation is actually preferable. For 'just as it is worse to extort one's properties than not acquiring what belongs to another, so it is more preferable to be freed

[34] See Nixon, 'Occasion and date', 159.

from the duty to pay than to be granted the possibility to yield profit.'[35]

As a result of the measures, life goes back to normal. People come out of their shelters, are preparing for work, bringing their offerings to the temples. The present tense is used here proleptically again, for the measures still have to come into effect. The orator refers to the future as well by making an allusion to a future visit of the emperor to Autun (whether or not this was already planned is not clear). Constantine will then be accompanied by his companion and his mate (P.L. V 14,4: *tuae comes et socius*). The wording *comes* and *socius* possibly refers to Apollo and Sol Invictus, whose identification was introduced in P.L. VI[36] and follows later on in the official propaganda.

The panegyrist concludes by naming Constantine ruler of all cities and nations. Nonetheless only the Aedui have taken his name, for Autun, which in earlier times was called Iulia Polia Florentia, is called Flavia Aeduorum now.[37] Strikingly the emperor is addressed as ruler of all cities and nations (*dominus omnium urbium, omnium nationum*), while imperial representatives of the other emperors may have been among those present.

The Tax Reforms Rhetorically Transformed

As I stated earlier, the references to the tax system are one of the main reasons why Panegyric V gained considerable attention from historians.[38] Yet unfortunately the references itself

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[35] P.L. V 14,2: *Quin immo quanto est durius extorqueri quod proprium fuerit quam non adquirere quod fuerit alienum, tanto dulcior est remissa solvendi necessitas quam lucrandi optata commoditas.*

[36] P.L. VI 21, 4ff. See also A.D. Nock, 'The Emperor's divine Comes', *JRS* 37, 1947, 102-116. It has also been put forward that by *comes* and *socius* is referred to Crispus, Constantine's son with Minervina. At the time of speaking however he was only eight years old, see Barnes, *New Empire*, 44.

[37] According to C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, Paris 1926, 92, the Aedui did not name their city after Constantine, but after his father, Constantius Chlorus.

[38] Cf. n. 2.

are not all too clear and seem to contradict each other. Besides, too few other sources proved to be helpful, for they both deal with other periods and other parts of the Roman Empire. Not surprisingly thus from the publications on this topic widely divergent opinions come forward, based on varying interpretations of the text and sources outside the text.

In my opinion however the question should not be *how* to use P.L. V as historical source, but *if* one can use it sensibly as historical source. Why should the panegyrist keep to the historical truth, if he has a certain freedom — as long as he stays within the borders of what the audience wants to hear — to model the facts to his purpose? More attention therefore must be paid to the rhetorical aspects of this description. I will illustrate this by two aspects of the tax reforms, that is the substance of the tax reduction and the period over which the arrears are remitted.

Let us start with the tax reduction. In P.L. V 5,5, where the panegyrist explains the problems of the Aedui, he makes first reference to the taxation. Not the devastation of the city, but exhaustion due to the bitterness (enormity) of the new census (*acerbitas* — or *enormitas* — *novi census*) depresses them. With the *new* census he most likely refers to the changes to the tax system Galerius made in 306. He continues with stressing the Aedui have no right to complain, because they actually are in possession of the lands they are assessed for (*agros discriptos*) and come under the 'normal' Gallic census (*Gallicani census communi formula*). So it appears Gallia had its own taxation. Although there has been some disagreement on how to interpret these statements, it seems most probable that *census* refers both to tax on land and on people. This is supported by P.L. V 6,1, where the panegyrist repeats this point (*ut dixi*) in the following manner: *habemus enim hominum numerum qui delati sunt et agrorum modum.* So these are the two categories of which the *census* exists.

The next reference to the taxes is the announcement of Constantine's measures (P.L. V 10,5: *relevaturus censum definisti numerum, reliqua debita remissurus quantum deberemus interrogasti*). Planning to reduce the taxes, he determined the number of *capita* he wanted to lower the tax with. Later on

(P.L. V 11,1) they appear to be 7,000, more than one fifth of the former tax. By means of this reduction, Constantine has given strength to 25,000. Presumably the 25,000 are the remaining *capita* after the lowering by 7,000. It follows that previously Autun was estimated for 32,000, of which 7,000 indeed is more than a fifth.

Subsequently the panegyrist poses that the one who thinks Constantine *merely* gave 7,000 capita reduction does not take his generosity at its true value. Some interpretations of this sentence imply that the lowering by 7,000 is clearly the least substantial of Constantine's benefactions.[39] However, that can hardly be the true significance of the word *sola* here. By using *sola* the panegyrist emphasizes the outrageousness of Constantine's benefactions. A tax reduction of 7,000 is great, and it is not even all! It does not necessarily refer to 'reality', but has been used as a rhetorical device. However, to comprehend how substantial the tax reduction really was, it is necessary to know the meaning of a *caput*.

How much is a caput?

Partly on the basis of this panegyric three different meanings of a *caput* have been put forward. First of all one caput has been interpreted as corresponding with one person, that is literally a 'head'.[40] This option can be eliminated immediately, for if Autun had 32,000 inhabitants who were all assessed for one caput, and now 7,000 capita are omitted, which people are exempt for paying tax? And accordingly, how can the phrase *plures adiuvant obsequia paucorum* be explained? Moreover,

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[39] Faure grounds this with the fact that it is the first mentioned, and therefore according to the rules of rhetoric the least important component, cf. 'Étude de la capitation', 47: "Le premier bienfait, c'est-à-dire le premier dans l'ordre de narration, donc, selon une loi du genre, le moins considérable de deux [...]".

[40] Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 1040-1041, puts forward this vision. According to him the census exclusively regards the capita. He assumes these capita refer to (complete) persons, and on that basis he figures he's able to determine the number of inhabitants of Autun. Following Jones, Barnes argues the 7,000 capita cover exactly the urban people, see *New Empire*, 234. This is highly improbable however, particularly because of the emphasis of the poor quality of the land.

the amounts of *capita* do not correspond with the size of the population that is assumed for Autun in this period.[41]

A *caput* has also been read as something like a formula, which refers to persons, but not strictly one to one, or to both persons and land. In that case a city is assessed for a certain amount of *capita*, in the case of Autun originally 32,000. If it refers to persons only, those *capita* are distributed among the inhabitants depending on their capacity for work. An adult man is assessed for a greater part of a *caput*, or for more *capita* than a woman or a small child. In case it refers to both persons and land, the distribution of *capita* also depends on the productivity of the land a person owns. If after the tax reduction Autun is assessed for 25,000 instead of 32,000, every inhabitant still has to pay taxes, but 7,000/32,000 (i.e. more than one fifth) less than before. In other words, the formula of the *caput* is filled out differently.

Until now most scholars have interpreted a caput as referring to both persons and land, first of all because in his speech the panegyrist emphasizes the poor condition of the land.[42] Why would he have done so, they argue, if the announced measures were only applicable to tax on persons? Furthermore the measure is announced as something substantial, by means of which Autun will certainly recover. If it were only a reduction of one fifth of a section of the total taxation, it would of course be a less considerable benefaction. Finally a *caput* referring to both persons and land has also been attested in other centres of the Roman Empire.

In my opinion however this reasoning attaches too much significance to aspects, which are mainly of rhetorical importance. It is true that much emphasis is laid on the condition of the land, but the panegyrist immediately clarifies that the main problem for the farmers consists of not having enough money to improve it.[43] So with more money to spend, the problem with the land could be solved. Of course the panegyrist claims

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[41] See Faure, 'La Capitation de Dioclétien', 78ff. and 85.

[42] See Déléage, *Capitation du Bas-Empire*, 208; A. Piganiol, 'La capitation de Dioclétien', *RH* 176, 1935, 1-13; Goffart, *Caput and Colonate*, 49-50; Faure, 'La Capitation de Dioclétien'.

[43] See P.L. V 6,2-4.

that Constantine's measure was substantial, how can he say otherwise? But does that mean it is true or at least plausible? The fact is that the Roman Emperors were far less willing to lower the tax on land, which took up the greater part of the taxes, than the tax on persons. And although a *caput* referring to both persons and land has been attested, the most frequently used term for tax on land is *iugum* (in which case the distribution of *iuga* among the landowners is dependent on the productivity of the land). Finally it is said that due to the tax relief men dare to count their women, children and family members again, for whom they pay the taxes. However, nowhere has been made notice of farmers eager to measure their lands again now the taxes have been relieved! At a crucial point the panegyrist exclusively mentions persons.

Though to me it seems thus more reasonable to assume that a caput refers to persons only, this is not the main point of my argument, for I believe the issue can not conclusively be solved on the basis of this speech only. Obviously in this speech of thanks it is in the interest of the panegyrist to present the tax measures as exceptionally substantial, whether or not this matches with reality.

How long is a lustrum *?*

Another aspect concerning the relief Constantine offered to the Aedui is the remittance of their debts and the period this covers. Five years of debts are let off, a *lustrum* which is equated with the lustrum of Constantine's reign, that is the Quinquennalia. Considering the fact that the panegyrist makes this comparison and regarding the great number of bystanders, it is rightly assumed that the occasion of the speech is the end of the Quinquennalia, that is the end of the fifth year. Since Constantine came into power on 25 July 306, the moment of speaking is thus fixed on 25 July 311.

Suppose the remitted debts truly cover exactly five years, they must date back from before the institution of the new tax system in September 306 and even from before the beginning of Constantine's reign in July 306. This however seems illogical, because of the emphasis on the bitterness of the *new* tax

system. Another possibility is for the remitted debts to exactly cover five years, starting from the institution of the new tax system in September 306 continuing to September 311, beyond Constantine's visit to Autun and the current speech. According to the panegyrist however, at the moment of speaking neither of the two tax measures was effective.[44] Yet if we suppose the debts have been remitted until September 311, no period between the two benefactions remains, since as from the new tax year in September the tax reduction of 7,000 *capita* will have come into effect.

As the period of the remitted debts can thus impossibly have covered exactly five years, the only possible conclusion is that the panegyrist fiddled with the numbers for his own purpose. It is however perfectly comprehensible that he preferred the round number of five years to the four years and a few months the remitted debts probably covered in reality. Particularly at the celebration of Constantine's Quinquennalia this equation with a *lustrum* was convenient, for it gave the panegyrist the opportunity to strengthen the connection between Constantine and the Aedui, which he is so eager to establish. Moreover he could make a comparison with the *lustrum* of the Roman republic, which was celebrated if the preceding years had been succesful, and thus remodel this hard period into a period of success.

The Question of Authorship

An issue that is not directly related to the main purpose of this paper, but is nevertheless interesting to shed a light on here, is the question of authorship. Unfortunately, like almost all panegyrics, P.L. V has come down to us anonymously. Only in one of the twelve panegyrics, P.L. XI, the name of the author, Eumenius, is mentioned. He was head of the School of Rhetoric in Autun, appointed to this post by Constantius Chlorus. Pleased to have found a name, scholars have tried to

[44] But because this present lies between two periods of *indulgentia,* this 'one-year' (*hic unus annus*) seems to bear no problems.

attribute more or even all panegyrics to this author. Although they have been occupied with this *quaestio Eumeniana* for some time[45], today it is commonly accepted that all panegyrics were written and held by different authors.

Latin Panegyrics V and VI, however, are so closely related, that it is striking that the possibility that both speeches were held by the same orator has never really been explored. Only Enenkel seems to identify the two orators as the same person.[46]

Based on the information given in the panegyrics, Nixon has made a list of the personalia of all panegyrists.[47] About the author of P.L. VI he states: 'mediae aetatis'; he has considerable experience employed in 'diversis otii et palatii officiis'; he is now engaged by 'privatorum studiorum ignobiles curae' but hopes for another Court post; he is from Autun'. About the author of P.L. V: 'a rhetorician from the Schools 'iam non privati studii litterarum [...] orator; a local senator from Autun who volunteered to convey the city's thanks to Constantine for tax cuts.' Nixon clearly assumes that he has to do with two different authors. From the passages he cites, however, the possibility that they are the same cannot be ruled out.

Barbara Rodgers[48] explores the panegyrists' attitudes towards the divinity of the Emperor. She imputes different positions to the orators of P.L. V and VI. About P.L. V: 'The orator has just referred to the emperor as 'praesentissimus hic deus', about P.L. VI: ' The author of the fifth panegyric is, like Eumenius and the author of VII a man who prefers not to call his emperor God'. Again, she obviously believes that both pane-

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[45] E.g. R. Götze, *Quaestiones Eumenianae*, diss. Halle 1892; A. Klotz, 'Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini', *RhM* 66, 1911, 513-572; W. Baehrens, 'Zur Quaestio Eumeniana', *RhM* 67, 1912, 312; J. Mesk, 'Zur Technik der lateinischen Panegyriker', *RhM* 67, 1912, 569-590; C.E. Sickle, "Eumenius and the Schools of Autun." *AJPh* 55, 1934, 236-243; B.S. Rodgers, 'Eumenius of Augustodunum', *AS* 20, 1989, 248-266.

[46] Enenkel, 'Geschichtmythologisierung und Propaganda', 93: "[...] wie die Dankrede zeigt, die derselbe Redner ein Jahr später, und zwar im Auftrag der Stadt Autun gehalten hat (P.L. V)."

[47] C.E.V. Nixon, 'Latin Panegyric in the Tetrarchic and Constantinian Period', in: B. Croke, *History and Historians in Late Antiquity*, Sydney 1983, 88-99, esp. 92.

[48] Rodgers, 'Divine Insinuation'.

gyrists are different persons, with different opinions. But again, to me, these descriptions seem not to be solid proof for the case of different authorship. Not only the personal opinions of the authors, but also the occasion, the place and the aim of the speech might influence the position they adopt towards the Emperor. In this case, it is not surprising that in P.L. VI, a speech that gives an overall view of Constantine's reign, more emphasis is laid on his divinity than in P.L. V, where the basis of praise is more straightforward.

The same argumentation can hold against A. Klotz[49], who has collected all the references to classical writers in the panegyrics and comes to the conclusion that the author of P.L. V prefers Lucretius to Virgil, whereas the author of P.L. VI refers to Virgil most frequently.

Unfortunately in the P.L. V there are no unambiguous indications that the same panegyrist as in P.L. VI is involved. But as he wanted to emphasize the fact that the Emperor granted the benefactions *spontaneously*, we can understand why he does not enlarge on his own merits.

To me it seems most likely these two speeches have the same author, for the obvious reasons that they both were held for the same Emperor, on behalf of, and by an orator from the same city, and, above all, giving thanks in the one speech for the benefactions that were asked for in the other. The previous assumptions may point in another direction, but cannot be deemed decisive.

Conclusion

In analysing and interpreting this speech of thanks, I have tried to show how the panegyrist finds and uses the material at his disposal, in short the panegyrical *inventio*. In the introduction he poses his central aim: to demonstrate that Constantine's benefactions are not due to fortuitous felicity (*fortuita felicitas*), but to just clemency (*iusta clementia*). To achieve this purpose he evidently has to employ the facts skilfully. One of

[49] See Klotz, 'Studien', 558-561.

the reasons given for the benefactions being just, is the Aedui truly deserved it (*bene meriti*). They really deserved it, because first of all they were the first Gauls to be called 'brothers of the Roman people', secondly because they were the first to ask Constantine's forefather Claudius Gothicus for assistance, and finally because they received benefactions of Constantine's father and predecessor, Constantius Chlorus. In all three instances however, significant information that might spoil the panegyrist's argument is wisely held back. Thus he keeps silent about the fact that the Gauls often fought against the Romans, that Claudius II Gothicus did not give the assistance they urged him for, and Constantius also denied them many benefactions.

In describing Constantine's benefactions themselves, the panegyrist also plays a clever game. At first he claims Constantine granted them spontaneously, whereas he clearly was asked for them in P.L. VI, a year earlier. Moreover, he states the tax measures Constantine proposed were truly substantial, while probably he only remitted a fifth part of the tax on persons, which was not a major relief. Finally he asserts the remitted debts covered exactly five years in order to equate them with Constantine's lustrum, the Quinquennalia. These debts however, can never possibly have covered a five-year period. From this it seems clear that, as long as he stayed within the borders of the emperor's wishes, dependently on the occasion and aim of the speech, the panegyrist had a certain freedom to adopt the facts to his purpose, that is to flatter the Emperor, without losing sight of his fellow citizens.

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